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THE BUDGET OF THE UNSKILLED LABORER¹

DURING the past twenty years relief organizations in various parts of the country have been searching for a more scientific method of determining what constitutes "adequate relief" for families dependent upon them for support, in the hope of getting away from the somewhat hit-and-miss fashion of estimating family needs in the earlier period.

In 1906 the opening session of the New York State Conference of Charities² was devoted to the report of the Committee on Standards of Living. Great interest was shown in the subject, and it became very clear during the discussion that there was a real necessity for an investigation of the cost of providing a "reasonable standard of living" in different communities in the state of New York. Accordingly, resolutions were adopted directing the incoming president to appoint a committee to investigate and determine: (1) the essen-

¹ EDITORIAL NOTE.—This article presents a brief review of some of the most important findings of an investigation carried on in 1924-26 by Dr. Leila Houghteling, of the Faculty of the Graduate School of Social Service Administration, in co-operation with the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago and the Chicago Council of Social Agencies. Notice will be found in another column of Dr. Houghteling's untimely death on New Year's Day, 1927. The full report, *The Income and Standard of Living of Unskilled Laborers in Chicago*, will be published by the University of Chicago Press in the spring of the present year.

² *Fortieth Annual Report of the State Board of Charities of the State of New York*, I (1906), 626.

tials of a normal standard of living, and (2) the cost of such a normal standard of living in the principal cities and towns of the state.

This report, which was published in 1909,¹ made available a collection of data about family budgets and family expenditures in New York and aroused a great deal of interest in the problem of "budgeting" dependent families.

In the year 1912, the first complete family budget, including estimates covering all items necessary for the maintenance of dependent families of varying sizes, was prepared by Miss Florence Nesbitt,² the dietitian in the Mother's Aid Department of the Chicago Juvenile Court, and upon her estimate of an adequate minimum budget for each dependent family was based the pension granted for the support of the children. This budget was accepted quite generally by relief agencies in Chicago as fixing a satisfactory standard of relief, and it was finally published in 1913. It was a very short and simple statement of the estimated necessary expenditures of dependent families of different numbers of members living on a minimum subsistence standard.

These expenditures included rent, food, clothing, household furnishings and supplies, heat and light, and other miscellaneous items; and the estimates for them were based upon the current prices which were being paid in neighborhoods in which dependent families lived. The estimates had special value because they were

¹ Robert Coit Chapin, *The Standard of Living among Working Men's Families in New York City* (New York, 1909). Dr. Chapin acted as secretary for the Committee and wrote the report.

² Published by the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy in 1913 as an appendix to *The Charity Visitor*, by Amelia Sears. The budget was published in pamphlet form in 1918 by the Chicago Council of Social Agencies under the title of *The Chicago Standard Budget*. It is also of interest that one of the large relief societies in New York had published a "family dietary" study as early as 1911—Winifred S. Gibbs, *Lessons in the Proper Feeding of the Family*, published by the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.

Attention should also be called to an earlier study of the standard of living among dependent families—"Household Budgets of the Poor: An Inquiry into Dietary Standards and Habits of a Group of Tenement House Families in New York City," by Miss Caroline Goodyear, of the New York Charity Organization Society, in *Charities and Commons*, May 5, 1906. This was a dietary study of a group of families known to the organization, and went into some detail as to the living conditions of these families with special reference to food habits and expenditures.

based upon the knowledge of a home-economics expert as to the needs of individual families of varying size and composition, and not upon average expenditures of groups of families.

Since 1913 this so-called "standard budget" has been frequently amplified and revised in accordance with the higher cost of living and the more complete understanding of what is necessary to maintain a family during the period of its dependency. It is now accepted by the United Charities of Chicago, the Jewish Charities of Chicago, and the Mothers' Aid Department of the Cook County (Chicago) Juvenile Court as fixing the standard of relief for the families dependent on these agencies for support.

As the standard set in the budget has gradually been raised, the relief agencies have accepted it because of their growing realization of the importance, both for individuals and for the community, of maintaining among dependent families a standard which means really living, not merely existing, as well as one which does away with the danger of pauperization because it enables a dependent family to enjoy such physical and moral well-being as will insure later independence.

Questions have arisen as to how high this standard can be raised and what upper limit must be put on the living conditions to be provided for dependent families. The new budget estimate, prepared in 1925,¹ was more liberal in many respects than any of the previous estimates, and objection was made to it on the ground that it would provide a higher standard of living for the family dependent on the community for support than an unskilled wage-earner could maintain for his family.²

The Chicago Council of Social Agencies first set itself the task of discovering whether or not the revision of the now famous budget

¹ Florence Nesbitt, *The Chicago Standard Budget for Dependent Families*, January, 1925. Issued by the Chicago Council of Social Agencies.

² This objection revives in a different form the old question as to the applicability of what was called in England the principle of "less eligibility." It will be remembered as one of the famous "principles" of English poor-law reform in 1834 that the condition of the family living on the rates should be "less eligible" than that of the family of the self-supporting laborer. It is, however, both impossible and unnecessary to discuss here the question of the applicability of the principle of less eligibility to modern relief work.

did, in fact, set a standard of living that self-supporting unskilled laborers could not maintain in Chicago. Co-operation was first secured from some of the large employers of unskilled labor in Chicago who became interested in the inquiry. Representatives of these firms sat on an Advisory Committee and furnished certain data about their unskilled workers. Each firm was asked to compile a list of common or unskilled laborers who had been on their payroll for the last calendar year (1924), and, if their records showed the marital and family status of each worker, they were asked to include in the list only married men who had at least one child under fourteen years of age. It was hoped to secure a family schedule for each of these families; and each firm was later asked to furnish a statement of the actual earnings for the year 1924 of each employee from whose family a schedule was obtained.

For the purpose of the inquiry the following definition of common or unskilled labor was decided upon:

Common or unskilled laborers are men who can be put to work without previous training or experience or with such instructions as can be readily given—as in a day. Those men will be excluded who have been undermined by age or physical defect or who are suffering from chronic disease or from the effects of accidents. It is agreed that an effort be made to obtain a random sample of the common or unskilled labor group as above defined, with a due proportion of representation from the different wage rates paid within this group.

It was later found necessary to modify the definition of “common or unskilled laborers” to include semi-skilled men, because there seemed to be no accepted standard as to the difference between unskilled and semi-skilled labor. Another change was made necessary because some of the employers stated that their laborers needed more than a day in which to learn their job. In the end it was agreed to select men definitely not of the skilled trades who were engaged in unskilled or semi-skilled work earning approximately thirty dollars a week or less. This last stipulation, in turn, could not be rigidly adhered to, as some employers pay at a higher rate than others, some give bonuses which raise materially the total earnings of the men, and some have special rates of pay if the work, even of a very simple nature, is very heavy or is done under such difficult conditions as extreme heat, cold, or dampness. Within these rather elastic

limits will be found the wage-earners whose families were interviewed and from whom information was obtained.

Twelve firms finally co-operated in the inquiry and furnished the names of 2,317 unskilled and semi-skilled laborers.

A total of 439 schedules were obtained from families on the lists, leaving 1,878 families from whom no information could be secured. Thirty-seven additional schedules were secured from families upon whom the agents chanced to call in their search for certain addresses.¹ In many cases those who gave the information were greatly interested in the study and answered the questions with great willingness. If any hesitation or suspicion was shown, the agent left the house without exerting undue pressure in an effort to fill the schedule.

The reasons for the failure to secure information from 1,878 families who were not scheduled may be briefly summarized: (1) In 625 cases an incorrect address was given and the families could not be traced. (2) In 715 instances the names given did not comply with the requirement that the men should be married and have at least one dependent child in the home. (3) In 130 cases the housewife refused to give the information. (4) In 260 cases no information could be secured on the first visit either because of the language difficulty or because it was not possible to find anyone at home. At least one subsequent visit was made in every case, but no contact was ever established with these families. (5) In the remaining 148 cases, schedules were not secured for miscellaneous reasons, e.g., because the families had left town, or because the man was not employed.

When the schedule-taking was completed, a letter was sent to each of the co-operating firms asking for a statement of actual earnings for each man for the year 1924. In the following pages an attempt is made to present briefly the facts regarding (1) the total income of families of unskilled laborers; how far this income is de-

¹ It was impossible to identify the firms for whom nine men were said to work, so no information could be obtained as to their wages. Letters were written to the twenty-four other firms which could be identified, asking information concerning the wages of twenty-eight men. Only five firms failed to reply; one firm—a public department—refused information. Four could not find the names on their pay-roll for 1924; and fourteen sent the desired information. They all showed an interest in the study and a desire to co-operate. Several requested that the information be considered confidential.

rived from the chief wage-earner; to what extent it is supplemented from other sources; what those sources are; and whether, when all possible sources have been utilized, a "normal standard" of living is maintained; (2) the relation of this standard to that set up by the Chicago budget in order to ascertain whether the Chicago budget is seeking to create for dependent families an unreasonably high standard of living.

Of primary importance in considering the total income of the 467 families included in this study is the part played by the father of the family, or the chief wage-earner. In this connection it must be remembered that the co-operating employers had been asked to furnish names of unskilled or semi-skilled laborers who had been fully employed in 1924. It was also understood that these men were all "employable," that is to say, that they were able bodied and could do a full day's work of heavy, manual labor. It was hoped in this way to exclude the question of unemployment¹ as outside the scope of the study, as was also the question of unemployable or handicapped men.

Of the 445 men for whom age was reported, 328, or nearly three-fourths, were young men between twenty-five and forty-five years of age, and only 5 were under twenty-five. In considering the fact that 112 men, or 25 per cent of the whole number, were over forty-five years of age, it must be borne in mind that this particular group of unskilled laborers were the more fortunate ones whose names were carried on the books of their employers during the entire year.² It

¹ While this study is concerned only with men who were fully employed, an attempt was made to secure information as to the amount of time that each man lost during the year and the reason for this lost time. The statements obtained, however, must be considered only as estimates, as they were given by the housewife or some other member of the family at the time the schedule was taken, and have not been verified from the employers' records. The first questions to be considered in this connection were the number who were idle for some length of time and the reasons therefor.

For only 222 men, or 48.2 per cent, was no idleness reported during the year. Of the 239 reporting idleness, 138 gave sickness as the cause, while 76 reported "no work."

The amount of time lost was the next point to be raised. These periods of idleness were, on the whole, rather long, as only 107 reported lost time for four weeks or less, while 126 reported longer periods of idleness, with 11 of these reporting sixteen weeks or more with no work.

² This does not necessarily mean that these men were at work continuously without any days of unemployment in 1924.

is safe to assume that, in general, this would indicate a group of men who had been relatively a long time on the employer's pay-roll, who were probably in their better class of employees, and who would be among the last to be laid off in time of business depression. While very often the unskilled or semi-skilled laborer is the casual laborer, going from job to job, and easily replaced because of the simple nature of his work, these men had, on the whole, been a long time on the pay-rolls of the firms employing them. Only 49, or 10.8 per cent, had been employed by the same firm for less than two years. Of even greater importance is the fact that 48 per cent had been in the employ of one firm for over five years, and 23 per cent had a period of employment of ten years or over. In the light of these figures, the assumption that these men form a very favorably situated group of unskilled or semi-skilled workers whose work records were good and whose services were valuable to the firms seems to be sustained.

Since it was felt that income was the determining factor in the present study, no effort was made to secure from the employers any specified proportion of the different races and nationalities. Taking the names furnished by the employers as they came, the result was that 380 schedules were collected from white and 87 from colored families.

Comparing the relative numbers of Negro and white workers with the census figures for 1920, it appears that, while 18.6 per cent of the unskilled laborers studied were Negro, only 4.9 per cent of the adult male population in Chicago in 1920 were of that race. The difference is undoubtedly explained by the fact that, especially since the war and the restriction of immigration, the Negro has been taking the place of the Southeastern European immigrant in doing the simpler kinds of laboring work.

EARNINGS OF CHIEF WAGE-EARNERS

Passing on to the important subject of earnings, it is interesting to note that the range paid was very wide, varying from \$800 to \$2,200 and over. The reason for this, as has already been stated, is that there seems to be no exact definition of the terms "unskilled" and "semi-skilled" labor, and wages vary greatly between firms and

are influenced by the conditions of work. Higher pay frequently accompanies work which, while simple in itself, is done under difficult conditions. Moreover, one of the firms concerned had a bonus system which brought the total payment to each man to an unusually high figure. Schedules were obtained for only twenty men from this

TABLE I
EARNINGS OF CHIEF WAGE-EARNER BY RACE; NUMBER AND PER CENT
DISTRIBUTION (DATA FROM PAY-ROLLS)

EARNINGS OF CHIEF WAGE-EARNER	CHIEF WAGE-EARNERS		CHIEF WAGE-EARNERS OF SPECIFIED RACE			
	Number	Per Cent Distribu- tion	White		Colored	
			Number	Per Cent Distribu- tion	Number	Per Cent Distribu- tion
Total.....	467	.....	380	.....	87	.....
Not reported.....	44*	.....	37	.....	7	.....
Total reported.....	423	100.0	343	100.0	80	100.0
\$800-\$899.....	6	1.4	5	1.5	1	1.3
\$900-\$999.....	11	2.6	7	2.0	4	5.0
\$1,000-\$1,099.....	40	9.5	22	6.4	18	22.5
\$1,100-\$1,199.....	50	11.8	33	9.6	17	21.2
\$1,200-\$1,299.....	63	14.9	48	14.0	15	18.7
\$1,300-\$1,399.....	63	14.9	60	17.5	3	3.8
\$1,400-\$1,499.....	81	19.2	74	21.6	7	8.7
\$1,500-\$1,599.....	45	10.6	37	10.8	8	10.0
\$1,600-\$1,699.....	24	5.7	22	6.4	2	2.5
\$1,700-\$1,799.....	20	4.7	15	4.3	5	6.3
\$1,800-\$1,899.....	6	1.4	6	1.8	.....	.....
\$1,900-\$1,999.....	7	1.7	7	2.0	.....	.....
\$2,000-\$2,099.....	2	0.5	2	0.6	.....	.....
\$2,100-\$2,199.....	4	0.9	4	1.2	.....	.....
\$2,200-\$2,399.....	1	0.2	1	0.3	.....	.....

* It was impossible to secure the employers' statement of earnings for these men; most of them were not on the lists furnished for the study. The statements of estimated wages were secured for each man, but were not used in this table.

firm, thirteen of whom received over \$1,500, and six of these received over \$1,800.

It must be recalled here that data regarding wages were obtained from two sources: (1) estimates, made by the housewives at the time the schedule was taken, of their husbands' yearly earnings; (2) statements obtained directly from the employers showing the exact yearly earnings of each man. In all the tables concerning the

earnings of the chief wage-earner, the data presented are those furnished from the pay-rolls of the employers. Tables I and II show the range of wages of 467 chief wage-earners.

TABLE II
EARNINGS OF CHIEF WAGE-EARNER BY RACE; CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGES

EARNINGS OF CHIEF WAGE-EARNER	CHIEF WAGE-EARNERS OF SPECIFIED RACE		
	Total Wage-Earners	White	Colored
	Cumulative Percentage	Cumulative Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Less than \$900.....	1.4	1.5	1.3
Less than \$1,000.....	4.0	3.5	6.3
Less than \$1,100.....	13.5	9.9	28.8
Less than \$1,200.....	25.3	19.5	50.0
Less than \$1,300.....	40.2	33.5	68.7
Less than \$1,400.....	55.1	51.0	72.5
Less than \$1,500.....	74.3	72.6	81.2
Less than \$1,600.....	84.9	83.4	91.2
Less than \$1,700.....	90.6	89.8	93.7
Less than \$1,800.....	95.3	94.1	100.0
Less than \$1,900.....	96.7	95.9	.....
Less than \$2,000.....	98.4	97.9	.....
Less than \$2,100.....	98.9	98.5	.....
Less than \$2,200.....	99.8	99.7	.....
Less than \$2,400.....	100.0	100.0	.....

COMPARISON OF EARNINGS AS ESTIMATED AND EARNINGS
AS REPORTED BY THE EMPLOYERS

When this inquiry was planned it was felt that, because of the co-operation of the employers and their willingness to furnish reports of the total earnings of each man for the year 1924, it would be possible to secure facts which might throw light on the validity of the methods which have been employed in other studies to obtain information concerning earnings. Generally speaking, it may be said that the method of estimating has been used most frequently. That is to say, when a family is visited, the housewife is asked for a statement of the earnings of the wage-earners in the family. This was the method used in Dr. Chapin's study,¹ and he comments upon it as follows:

Among the difficulties encountered was a tendency in some cases to exaggerate in statements of earnings and expenditures, partly from pardonable pride

¹ Robert Coit Chapin, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

in making as good a showing as possible, partly from a method of estimating food expenditures on the basis of a week's outlay. . . . The opposite tendency to underestimate appeared in a few cases, prompted apparently by a desire to make out as bad a case as possible. . . .

It would be absurd to claim for these family reports the exactness of a bank statement. But, although only approximations, they were carefully prepared. . . . No doubt the total income was often misstated through failure to make an exact allowance for days of unemployment. . . . Some of these inaccuracies would counterbalance one another, and be eliminated in the process of averaging. Thus, the tendency to exaggeration would be offset by the tendency to concealment. It would not be safe to suppose that all errors would disappear by any such magic process, however, especially with no more cases than in the present instance.

In the studies of the cost of living made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the method used is described as follows:

The data . . . were secured, as in former studies, through personal visits by agents of the Bureau to the home of wage earners and small salaried men, where, by means of interviews with the wife or other members of the family, information was obtained relative to the income and expenditures of the family for the period of one year.¹

Many of the studies conducted by the United States Children's Bureau, in dealing with problems of child welfare, have laid stress on the financial condition of the families studied, and for this reason have attempted to secure information concerning earnings as the most important source of income. Here again, the usual method² has been to question the housewife as to the earnings of the employed persons in the family. While no claim is made that these estimates are exact, the attitude of the Bureau is expressed in the following sentence: "It is believed the information secured is sufficiently accurate for the purposes for which it has been used."³

¹ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Bull. 357 (1924), *Cost of Living in the United States*.

² U.S. Children's Bureau Publication 112, *Infant Mortality: Results of a Field Study in Gary, Indiana, 1923*; *ibid.*, No. 102, Helen Russell Wright, *Children of Wage-Earning Mothers* (1922).

³ *Ibid.*, No. 106, *Child Labor and the Welfare of Children in an Anthracite Coal Mining District*.

In one inquiry made under the direction of the U.S. Woman's Bureau (*The Share of Wage-earning Women in Family Support*, Bull. 30), a method of securing earnings was used which is in some respects similar to the one used in this study. It is described in the report as follows:

"In making the investigation the method followed was to interview all men and

In the present study, as has been stated, the employers provided the actual earnings for the year 1924 in almost every case in which a schedule was obtained. As these statements, for the most part, were not obtained until after the family had been visited and the information secured, the investigators were able to get from the families their estimates of the wages uninfluenced by any knowledge of what the actual earnings were. The method of obtaining these

TABLE III
WAGE-EARNERS WHOSE ACTUAL EARNINGS WERE IN EXCESS OF OR
BELOW ESTIMATED EARNINGS; NUMBER AND
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

ACTUAL EARNINGS IN EXCESS OF OR BELOW ESTIMATED EARNINGS	WAGE-EARNERS	
	Number	Per Cent Distribution
Total.....	467	.....
Not reported.....	46*	.....
Total reported.....	421	100.0
Actual earnings in excess of estimate.....	287	68.2
Actual earnings below estimate.....	121	28.7
Actual earnings the same as estimate.....	13	3.1

* In 44 of these cases the employers' statement of actual earnings was not reported; in the other 2 cases the estimated earnings were not reported.

estimates was usually that of asking the housewife for her husband's weekly earnings, and multiplying that figure by the number of weeks that he was reported to have worked for a given wage. A comparison of the earnings as thus estimated and as reported by the employers is given in Table III.

women in each plant, securing from them information as to their industrial history and present condition: i.e., present wage and occupation, age beginning work, time in the trade and in present occupation, number of weeks not at work during the past year, reasons for not working, days worked during the past week, usual daily and weekly hours. . . . When this information had been secured for all the men and women employed in the plant, the pay-rolls were studied and the weekly earnings of each person for as many weeks as he or she had been with the firm during the year April, 1919, to April, 1920, were recorded with the rest of the information secured about him."

In this way both estimated and actual earnings were secured, but the figures taken from the pay-rolls were used in drawing up the report and, unfortunately, no effort seems to have been made to compare the accuracy of the estimated earnings with the actual earnings.

When a comparison was made between the estimates and the employers' statements, it was found that only 13 estimates were entirely correct and that either these estimates were for men who were paid by the month a certain definite sum, or the family had been given a statement of earnings by the employer, so that in reality their statement was not really an estimate but the employer's statement of actual earnings for 1924. In 287 instances the actual earnings were larger than the estimated earnings, and in 121 the actual earnings were smaller. In analyzing the margin of error in these two groups there is again a divergence.

As to the extent to which there was an overestimate or an underestimate, a further analysis of the data showed that of the men whose actual earnings were larger than the estimate, whose wives were therefore underestimating, there were only 55, or 19.3 per cent of the total number in this group, with an error of less than 5 per cent, while in the group of 121 who had overestimated their earnings, there were 50, or 41.3 per cent of the group, with the same percentage of error. If there is added to this group those having a percentage of error of from 5 to 10 per cent, the results show 126, or 43.9 per cent, of those underestimating, and 63.6 per cent of those overestimating within these limits. Among those with a very large percentage of error, 20 per cent and above, the opposite is true, that is, those who underestimated show a larger proportion, 106, or 36.9 per cent; while the overestimates numbered 14, or 11.6 per cent of that group.

From these figures it seems apparent that there was a tendency to underestimate earnings. While it is not possible to give a definite reason for this, there are several possible explanations. In the first place, the man may not give his entire earnings to his wife, but may simply give her the amount he thinks she should spend for the family. Then again, there might easily be a feeling among people of this economic level that if their circumstances should appear too comfortable, steps might be taken to lower wages on the ground that they had more than they actually needed. A third explanation may lie in the fact that several times the investigators were asked if they came "from the government" and had anything to do with the income tax.

All these facts seem clearly to indicate that, at least for a group

of the kind studied, it is not safe to rely on estimates alone in obtaining facts concerning wages.

These two tendencies—to underestimate and to do so with a substantial divergence from the facts—are so pronounced as to cast some doubt on the practice of accepting estimates of wages and earnings made by housewives as reasonably or serviceably accurate. Moreover, attention should be called to the fact that the investigators who secured these estimates were all persons who had had experience in family case work, who knew something of life among families in the low-wage groups, and who were accustomed to interviewing such families. The inaccuracies in the estimates cannot therefore be charged to lack of intelligence or experience among the investigators, but are apparently inherent in the method itself.

HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY COMPOSITION

In examining the household and family composition of these 467 laborers, attention must be called to the fact that this is not a true random sample of the unskilled wage-earning group in Chicago because only families in which the man had been on the books of a firm throughout the year and families in which there was at least one dependent child were included in the group.

In tabulating the data regarding the size of the families scheduled, it was thought best to distinguish between the family and the household. The term "family" is used to include father, mother, their children, and all dependent relatives; while the term "household" is used to include this family group and all boarders and roomers. Separate tables were therefore prepared showing separately the number of households and then the number of families of different sizes.

Households with fewer than three members had been excluded, and all the households in the three-person group were made up of the father and the mother and one dependent child. Five persons made up 84 households—the largest group—and those having four and six members are nearly as large, 76 and 74 households, respectively. Only 122 households, or approximately 25 per cent, had less than five members, and 256, or 56 per cent, had more than five members.

The families, as distinguished from the households, show a somewhat different composition, as they are, generally speaking, a somewhat smaller group. This is shown in Table IV. Five persons make up 97 families, or 20.8 per cent of the total, and this again is the largest single grouping. There are 155 families, or 33.1 per cent, which have less than five members, and 215, or 46.1 per cent, which have more than five members.

TABLE IV
WAGE-EARNERS' FAMILIES* WITH SPECIFIED NUMBER OF
PERSONS; NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

FAMILIES WITH SPECIFIED NUMBER OF PERSONS	WAGE-EARNERS	
	Number	Per Cent Distribution
Total.....	467	100.0
3.....	59	12.6
4.....	96	20.5
5.....	97	20.8
6.....	68	14.6
7.....	55	11.8
8.....	49	10.5
9.....	26	5.6
10.....	12	2.6
11.....	2	0.4
12 or over.....	3	0.6

* The family includes the father, mother, all children, and all dependent relatives.

DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Before discussing the number of dependent children in the families, it is necessary to define the word "dependent" as used in this connection. For the purposes of this study, a dependent child is one who is dependent on the family fund for support. No age limit has been set, and 40 children of sixteen or over were included who were either attending school or were ill, and therefore were contributing nothing to the family fund. On the other hand, there have also been included as dependent 35 children of thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen years of age who have worked after school or during the summer holidays at such jobs as selling newspapers, peddling, delivering parcels, picking berries, and caddying at country clubs. These chil-

dren have contributed some small amounts to the family, but as they were all attending school and were largely supported from the earnings of others, it seemed fairer to consider them as dependent children rather than as working children.

The number of persons in the "standard" or "normal" family, which is supposed to consist of the father and mother and three de-

TABLE V
FAMILIES WITH SPECIFIED NUMBER OF DEPENDENT
CHILDREN; NUMBER AND PER CENT
DISTRIBUTION

DEPENDENT CHILDREN	WAGE-EARNERS' FAMILIES	
	Number	Per Cent Distribution
Total.....	467	100.0
None*.....	2	0.4
1.....	77	16.5
2.....	112	24.0
3.....	103	22.0
4.....	79	16.9
5.....	41	8.8
6.....	34	7.3
7 or more.....	19†	4.1

* The children in these families are dependent nieces and nephews and therefore were not in this table classified with the other dependent children.

† Of these 19 families 11 had 7 dependent children, 5 had 8 dependent children, and 1 had 9 dependent children.

pendent children, has been discussed for some years in relation to the "living wage" and more recently in connection with family-allowance schemes.¹

In view of this discussion, the facts obtained in this inquiry relating to families of different sizes in the group studied are interesting. The data on this subject are shown in Table V.

Since there are included in the study only those families having at least one dependent child, there is no information as to the relative number of families with and without such children. The table does

¹ See, e.g., B. Seebohm Rowntree, *The Human Needs of Labor* (London, 1918); Eleanor F. Rathbone, *The Disinherited Family* (London, 1924); Paul H. Douglas, *Wages and the Family* (Chicago, 1925); A. L. Bowley, "Earners and Dependents in English Towns in 1911," *Economica*, May, 1921.

show, however, that families with two dependent children are the most common, as there were 112 of this type, or 24 per cent of the whole number of families. Next in frequency are the families with three children. There are 103 of these, or 22 per cent of the whole number. There are 173 families, or 37 per cent, which have more than three dependent children, 1 family having as many as nine. When these are added to the number of families having three such children, there are 276 families, or 59 per cent of the total, having three or more dependent children.

While these families represent, in the matter of dependent children, a selected sample, and for that reason are not typical of the working-class population as a whole, there is no reason to think that they are not typical of the families having any children among the unskilled laborers in Chicago. If this is the case, the fact that a large proportion of these families have three or more dependent children has great significance in relation to the adequacy of the father's earnings and the family fund to meet the demands made upon them.

OTHER DEPENDENTS

In addition to the children who must be provided for out of the laborer's budget, there were, in 37 families, relatives, either adults or children, who were either wholly or partially dependent. The relationship of these dependents to the chief wage-earner is very varied. He may be supporting his own mother, his wife's mother, one or more nieces or nephews, a married daughter and her child, a brother or brother-in-law, when ill or out of work. In 24 cases there was only one dependent relative being supported; in 5 cases there were two; in 7 cases, three; and in 1 case, four such dependent relatives. In 10 of the 37 cases the support is only partial, as, for instance, in a Negro family where a married daughter and her child spent three months of the year 1924 with her parents. In another family, also Negro, the wife's sister and brother-in-law and their child were given a room for several months while he was unemployed. In a Polish family with two working children and one child in school, a room is given to a married daughter, her husband, and child. One Italian family have with them for half of every year the man's mother, and

she is entirely supported during that period. The other families giving partial support to relatives are similar to these and need not be cited.

It might be thought that the families with several dependent children would not feel able to assume the added burden of the support of dependent relatives, but this apparently is not the case in the group which reported dependent relatives living with the family, as 20 of the 37 families reporting other dependents had three or more dependent children. It is true that 15 of the 20 were supporting only one dependent relative, but 3 were supporting two, and 1—a colored family with six children under eleven years of age—had been providing a room, rent free, for the woman's brother, his wife, and child, for over a year when he was unemployed. As the family was living in a five-room flat, this addition to their number, which made a household of eleven persons, was especially undesirable. Among the families with fewer dependent children, 8 out of 17 were supporting more than one other dependent. The wage-earner in the family which had no dependent children, but four other dependents, was a colored man who, with his wife who also worked, supported her sister and three children. The sister made some return by doing the housework and occasionally some laundry work. With the money she earned she paid the insurance for herself and her children, and in this way assured for them the means for a decent burial without the ignominy of being buried by the county in the "Potter's Field."

BOARDERS AND ROOMERS

One hundred families had boarders or roomers as members of the household. Of these families 56 were white and 44 Negro. These figures represent 14.7 per cent of the total number of white families, and 50.6 per cent of the total number of colored families. This difference is not surprising, as the earnings of the Negroes have been shown to be so much lower than those of the white laborers that additional sources of income would naturally be necessary. Moreover, the fact that Negroes were charged a proportionately higher rent than white people often necessitated the renting of rooms in order to meet the high rent.

EMPLOYMENT OF MOTHERS

The employment of the mothers in these wage-earning families is of great importance. It has of late years become a generally accepted principle among all those interested in child and family welfare that the mother of a family of young children must devote her time and attention to them and not be employed outside the home. Acting upon this principle, relief agencies throughout the country have formulated plans which aim to withdraw women with young children from industry.

TABLE VI

MOTHERS EMPLOYED CLASSIFIED BY EARNINGS OF CHIEF WAGE-EARNER

EARNINGS OF CHIEF WAGE-EARNER	NUMBER OF MOTHERS			
	Total Number of Mothers	Number of Employed Mothers	Percentage of Mothers Employed	No Mother*
Total.....	467	108	23.1	3
Not reported.....	44	8	18.2	.....
Total reported.....	423	100	23.6	.....
\$800-\$899.....	6	3	50.0	.....
\$900-\$999.....	11	3	27.3	.....
\$1,000-\$1,099.....	40	12	30.0	1
\$1,100-\$1,199.....	50	13	26.0	2
\$1,200-\$1,299.....	63	19	30.2	.....
\$1,300-\$1,399.....	63	14	22.2	.....
\$1,400-\$1,499.....	81	11	13.6	.....
\$1,500-\$1,599.....	45	13	28.9	.....
\$1,600 or more†.....	64	12	18.8	.....

* Mother dead or not living with the family.

† There were no mothers employed in any wage group above \$1,999.

In the two large private relief societies of Chicago, there is a sincere effort being made to keep the mothers of young children in the homes and out of industry. Since this is the case with families dependent for their support on resources other than their own, it is interesting to see what the conditions are in independent, self-supporting families. The first point to be considered is the number of mothers who were employed.

Table VI shows that in 108, or nearly one-fourth of the families, the mothers were gainfully employed and could not devote their entire time to their families. This table also indicates that there was a somewhat larger percentage of women working in the families

where the man's earnings were very low than in the families where his earnings were more adequate. Fifty of the 100 women employed, for whom we have data on the husband's earnings, had husbands who earned less than \$1,300. These men constituted 40.2 per cent of the 423 chief wage-earners for whom there is a report on earnings. While this difference is not very great, it has some significance, especially in a group the majority of whom are not highly paid.

Another question of importance that should be considered is the number of dependent children in the families of these working mothers. Data on this point are shown in Table VII.

TABLE VII
WORKING MOTHERS WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN; NUMBER
AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

NUMBER OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN IN FAMILY	WORKING MOTHERS WITH DE- PENDENT CHILDREN	
	Number	Per Cent Distribution
Total.....	108	100.0
1.....	23	21.3
2.....	28	25.9
3.....	27	25.0
4.....	13	12.1
5.....	8	7.4
6.....	5	4.6
7 or more.....	4	3.7

Twenty-three women had one dependent child, 28 had two, and the remaining 57, or 52.8 per cent, had three or more children. The size of these families is significant in view of the fact that at least one of the relief agencies of recognized standing does not suggest any outside work to women with more than three children, and only part-time work, if any, to women with two or three children. It seems almost unavoidable that the well-being of many young children in this group must be jeopardized by the fact that the mother is forced to contribute to the family support.

An analysis of the data by race showed that a far greater proportion of the mothers in the Negro families worked than in the white families. That is, 47 per cent of the mothers in the Negro families

worked, in comparison with only 18 per cent of the mothers in the white families. Again, there seemed to be a relationship between the low wages paid the colored men and the need for supplementary income. When the white families are classified according to nationality the resulting numbers in each group are too small to furnish evidence of any value as to whether it is more customary for women of some nationalities to work than for those of other nationalities.

Another question of importance is the number of weeks in the year that these women were employed. When questioned as to this

TABLE VIII
EARNINGS OF WORKING MOTHERS

Earnings	Number of Mothers	Per Cent Distribution
Total working mothers..	108	.....
Not reporting.....	3	.....
Total reporting.....	105	100.0
Under \$50.....	14	13.3
\$50-\$99.....	10	9.5
\$100-\$199.....	9	8.6
\$200-\$299.....	11	10.5
\$300-\$399.....	10	9.5
\$400-\$499.....	13	12.4
\$500-\$599.....	12	11.4
\$600-\$699.....	8	7.6
\$700-\$799.....	5	4.8
\$800-\$899.....	4	3.8
\$900-\$999.....	1	1.0
\$1,000-\$1,099.....	4	3.8
\$1,100-\$1,199.....	1	1.0
\$1,200-\$1,299.....	3	2.8

point, only 29 women stated that they worked steadily throughout the year, and 67 said that they had been employed twenty-four weeks or more—that is to say, approximately half the year or more. It is quite possible that some inaccuracy may be found here, since these reports were obtained from the housewives when the schedules were filled in, and no effort was made to secure further information from the employers. The type of work done by many of these women, especially day work and home work, in which 40 of the 108 were engaged, is often very irregular in character, and this fact undoubtedly has much to do with the number reporting a great many weeks' idleness.

THE WORKING MOTHER'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE BUDGET

The last point to be considered regarding the gainfully employed mothers is the amount of money earned. The findings on this point are presented in Table VIII. Because of the great variation in the length of employment there is also a great variation in the amounts earned during the year as estimated by this group of women, from small sums under fifty dollars to twelve hundred dollars or over. It must be emphasized here that these earnings are given as returned by the women and that no attempt has been made to verify them as was done in the case of the men's earnings. It is possible that these estimates may be somewhat more accurate than the other estimates were because they were made by the women themselves for their own earnings, while the estimates for the men were not made by themselves, but by their wives, who may not have known what their husbands' earnings were.

CONTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED CHILDREN TO THE
FAMILY BUDGET

The next important contribution to the budget from within the family group itself is the contribution of the children who are employed. There are certain facts concerning these children which are of especial interest, and among these the first to be considered is the age groups to which they belong. There were in all 175 working children in 108 families. Of these 175 employed children only 7 were under sixteen years of age. This is particularly striking in view of the fact that, according to the provision of the Child Labor Law of Illinois, children are allowed to work, with certain restrictions, when they are fourteen years of age. The 2 children of fourteen who were fully employed were a boy who helped a peddler on his wagon and earned \$5.00 a week and a girl who worked in a paper-box factory and reported earnings of \$14.50 a week. The group of 5 children fifteen years of age who were fully employed included 1 girl who earned \$10.00 a week as a filing clerk, 1 girl who did "office work" for \$10.00 a week, 1 boy earning \$11.00 a week as a messenger boy, another boy who earned \$10.00 a week as "mail boy," and a boy who was a junior clerk at \$9.00 a week. There were 57 children between the ages of sixteen and eighteen who were employed, and in this con-

nection it must be remembered that there were also 40 children of sixteen or over attending school and not contributing to the family fund. In 6 of these families the mothers were employed, which seems to indicate that they are so eager to have their children take advantage of the educational advantages of the public schools that they are willing to work themselves in order to make this possible. The range of the contributions of the children to the family fund was very wide, extending from less than \$100 to \$3,000 and over. In 33 families the children's earnings were under \$500, and in 72 families less than \$1,000. As might be expected, in the majority of cases, as the size of the contribution from working children increases, the number of such children in the family increases also, so that in only 3 families with 1 working child is the contribution more than \$1,000.

It is interesting to note that there seems to be no generally accepted principle in relation to the amount a working child should contribute to the family budget. In some families all the earnings were given to the mother, and she directed all the expenditures; in some other families a definite amount was paid in for board and room; for board, room, and laundry; or for board, room, laundry, and clothes; and what was left was expended or saved according to the wish of the individual child.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF BOARDERS AND ROOMERS

Detailed figures showing the contribution of boarders and roomers cannot be given here. There appeared to be no relation between the number of boarders or roomers and the amount paid into the family fund. This is undoubtedly due, first, to the fact that many of the boarders or lodgers did not remain the entire year with the family; second, to the varying rates of pay which are asked for board and room, or room alone. One-half of the families who supplemented their incomes from this source received less than \$300 during the year, and only seventeen received more than \$500.

INCOME FROM PROPERTY, BENEFITS, AND GIFTS

The other sources which contributed to make up the family fund were benefits, property, and "other income including gifts." Two hundred and fifty-seven families were entirely dependent on earn-

ings and payment of boarders and roomers for their support, while 207 had one or more other sources of income. A word of explanation is probably necessary here in regard to the meaning of the terms "benefits," "property," and "other including gifts."

By "benefits" is meant any allowance which the wage-earner, or any member of the family, draws from the employer or any insurance company or benevolent association during illness or incapacity caused by an accident or injury. As these men were not members of unions, there were no union benefits included.

The following cases illustrate the types of benefits received. An eighteen-year-old colored girl, while working her first day in a restaurant, fell and broke her leg. She was in the hospital for several weeks, and her employer paid for her care there and also paid her \$7.00 a week for twenty-two weeks. In another family the man injured his finger very seriously while at work. He received \$13.50 a week from his employer for nineteen weeks, and a small amount besides from an insurance company. Another man who was ill for eleven weeks received \$10.00 a week from his employer during this period. In still another case of injury to the hand, the man drew \$221.00 from the firm and \$65.00 from a national association in which he was insured.

The term, "other sources of income including gifts," includes various items. By far the most important of these, occurring in the great majority of cases, are gifts from friends or relatives. The most usual gift, as might be expected, was that of clothing for the woman or the children. This clothing usually came from "rich relatives" such as grandmothers or aunts or, in cases where the mother was employed doing housework, from her employer. There are several instances also where food was given by employers or relatives at Christmas or on some other occasion; and in a few instances gifts of money are reported from the same sort of source. Occasionally, the family reported that they had borrowed money to meet current living expenses or that they had used some of the savings of previous years for the same purposes. There are also several miscellaneous additions to the family fund included under this heading, such as insurance on the death of a son who was not a member of the family group at the time of his death. As some of these additions to family income were in money and some in food, clothing, or

furnishings, no effort was made to classify them more definitely, as it is only possible in cases such as this to give an indication of the other elements which contributed to the total income of the family in money or kind during the year.

ANALYSIS OF INCOME FROM ALL SOURCES

Summarizing the income from all sources, it is quite clear that the supplementary income, aside from the man's earnings, is a very important factor in meeting the budget needs of families such as the ones under consideration. In Tables IX-XIII an attempt is made to

TABLE IX
CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FAMILY BUDGET FROM DIFFERENT
CLASSES OF WAGE-EARNERS; NUMBER AND
PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

Families with Wage-Earners as Specified	Number	Per Cent Distribution
Total	467	100.0
Father only	267	57.2
Father and mother	92	19.7
Father and children	92	19.7
Father, mother, and children	16	3.4

set forth the sources of income in order to show their relation to one another and, particularly, to the most important source—the man's earnings. The first of these tables shows the earnings of members of the family group. Table IX shows that in 267 families, 57 per cent of the whole number, the father alone was employed; in 92 families, approximately 20 per cent, the father and mother were both employed; in the same number of families the father and one or more of the children worked; and in 16, or 3 per cent, the father, mother, and one or more of the children were employed. Thus in 200 families, or approximately 43 per cent, there were other wage-earners in the family besides the father.

Table X shows the extent to which the family earnings are supplemented from the sources other than earnings. In 197 families, or 42.5 per cent of the total number reporting, the whole income is composed of earnings. These earnings may be the father's only, or his and the mother's or children's earnings.

In 168 families, or 36 per cent, besides earnings there was income from property, benefits, or gifts. As these sources have been explained, it is not necessary to make further comment here as to their meaning. In 12.9 per cent of the families, the family fund included, in addition to earnings, the amounts paid into it by boarders and roomers; while in 39 families, in addition to earnings and contributions from boarders and roomers, there was some income from benefits, property, and gifts. From this analysis it is shown that in 267 families, or 57.5 per cent, there is income from other sources than the earnings of members of the family.

TABLE X
FAMILIES HAVING SPECIFIED SOURCES OF INCOME; NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

SOURCES OF INCOME	FAMILIES	
	Number	Per Cent Distribution
Total.....	467	.....
Not reported.....	3	.....
Total reported.....	464	100.0
Earnings only.....	197	42.5
Earnings and property, benefits, or gifts.....	168	36.2
Earnings and boarders or roomers.....	60	12.9
Earnings and boarders or roomers and other sources.....	39	8.4

Finally, Table XI shows, for the families in which the man is the only wage-earner, to what extent the budget needs are met from other sources. The outstanding fact here is that while there are 267 families in which the father is the sole wage-earner, in only 112 of these are his earnings the only source of income. While these 112 families are 42.3 per cent of this group of 265 families (2 families did not report as to the sources of income), they are only 24.1 per cent of the whole group of families studied. Thus, it is clear that in approximately one-fourth of these families the man alone supports the family from his wages, while in the other three-fourths there is supplementary income from one or more of the sources indicated.

THE DEPENDENT FAMILY'S BUDGET IN RELATION TO THE
EARNINGS OF THE INDEPENDENT LABORER

It is also important to compare the earnings of the chief wage-earner with the estimated budget for dependent families. In making this comparison, the data secured for all 467 families were not used, as it was felt that a more accurate comparison could be made if the 130 families who owned or were buying homes were excluded. There were two reasons for this decision. In the first place, there is no provision made in a budget for a dependent family for expenditures for the purpose of buying a house, since the so-called depend-

TABLE XI

SOURCES OF INCOME IN FAMILIES WHERE THE FATHER IS THE ONLY WAGE-EARNER

SOURCES OF INCOME	FAMILIES IN WHICH THE FATHER IS THE ONLY WAGE-EARNER	
	Number	Per Cent Distribution
Total	267	.....
Not reported	2	.....
Total reported	265	100.0
Earnings only	112	42.3
Earnings and property, benefits, or gifts	97	36.6
Earnings and boarders or roomers	35	13.2
Earnings and boarders or roomers and other sources	21	7.9

ent families are not, generally speaking, involved in such financial enterprises. In the second place, if such expenditures were included and substituted in the place of the estimate for rent, the two estimates for purchases and for rent would not be comparable, as the expenditures for buying a house are not entirely for current living expenses, but are partially an investment representing the savings of the family. Thus in Table XII only the 337 families who paid rent for the apartments or houses are included. This table shows the number of these families in which the earnings of the chief wage-earner were larger or smaller than the estimated budget for each family.

In only 98 families, or 32.5 per cent, were the earnings of the chief wage-earner larger than the amount of money necessary to

provide the standard of living required by the budget, while in 204 families, or 67.5 per cent, the earnings were less than the budget estimate required.

Even more important is a study of the percentage of difference between the earnings of the chief wage-earner and the estimated budget.

Of the group of 98 families in which the earnings of the chief wage-earner were in excess of the budget, 14 had earnings which were less than 5 per cent larger, and 17 had earnings which were between 5 and 10 per cent larger, making 31 families, or 10 per cent of the

TABLE XII
FAMILIES IN WHICH EARNINGS OF CHIEF WAGE-EARNERS, AS REPORTED BY
EMPLOYERS, ARE ABOVE OR BELOW THE STANDARD BUDGET;
NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

Families in Which Earnings of Chief Wage-Earner Show an Excess or Deficiency in Relation to Standard Budget	Number	Per Cent Distribution
Total.....	337	.....
Not reported.....	35*	.....
Total reported.....	302	100.0
Families in which earnings of chief wage-earner show an excess	98	32.5
Families in which earnings of chief wage-earner show a deficit.	204	67.5

* In these cases it was not possible to obtain a statement of earnings from the employer.

302 reporting families, within a range of 10 per cent. The excess of income in this group ranges as high as 50 per cent, and 18 families, or 6 per cent, have earnings which were more than 30 per cent larger than the estimated budget. With the families in which the earnings of the chief wage-earner show a deficiency in relation to the budget, the percentage of difference is not the same as in the other group. Forty-two families, or 13.9 per cent of the 302 families, have a deficiency of less than 10 per cent, while 88, or 29 per cent, show deficits ranging between 10 and 50 per cent. This, it will be recalled, was the high limit of the group of families showing an excess, but there are 74 families, or 24 per cent of the 302, who have deficits amounting to more than half of the man's earnings, 17 of these having "deficits" as great as his entire earning or greater. This means, of course, that the father's earnings supplied only half or less than half of the family budget.

In taking up now the comparison of the standard budget and the family fund, emphasis must be placed upon the fact that the family fund is itself only an estimate and that, therefore, its accuracy is open to a great deal of question. As has already been stated, the earnings of the chief wage-earner are accurate figures taken from the pay-rolls of the employers.

In how many families are the family funds larger than the estimated budget, and in how many are the funds smaller? Table XIII answers this very important question.

TABLE XIII
FAMILIES WHOSE FAMILY FUNDS WERE ABOVE OR BELOW THE STANDARD
BUDGET; NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION

Families Whose Family Fund Shows an Excess or Deficiency in Relation to Standard Budget	Number	Per Cent Distribution
Total.....	337	.....
Not reported.....	1	.....
Total reported.....	336	100.0
Families whose family funds show an excess.....	186	55.4
Families whose family funds show a deficiency.....	150	44.6

The figures here are quite different from those shown in Table XII, where only the earnings of the chief wage-earner were included, as there are 186 families, or 55 per cent of the families under consideration, whose family funds are larger than the estimated budget, and 150 with family funds smaller than the budget. This, of course, is not surprising, as with all the sources of income included it is natural that there should be a larger percentage of these families able to maintain a standard as high or higher than that set by the standard budget.

It is important to note that 74 families have family funds of over \$2,400 a year, and 11 of these are over \$4,000 a year. There are, needless to say, no families where the earnings of the chief wage-earner are more than \$2,400 a year. One hundred and eleven families have total incomes between \$1,800 and \$2,400 as compared with 20 families in which the man's earnings came within these limits. In the lower-income groups it is interesting to note that, while in 125 families, or 27 per cent, the family funds amounted to less than

\$1,400 a year, in 233 families, approximately one-half of the whole number, the earnings of the chief wage-earner were less than \$1,400.

In all this discussion there are several facts which stand out clearly and should be emphasized. The first is the fact that in more than two-thirds of the 337 families for whom these comparisons could be made, the wages of the chief wage-earner are not sufficient to maintain a standard of living equal to that provided by the Chicago budget for dependent families, and in some of these cases the deficit existing between the earnings and the budget is very great, amounting to one-half the man's earnings. That is, in order to maintain a standard equal to the budget, he would have to increase his earnings by one-half. However, it is equally important to remember that when all sources of income are included, a far larger number are able to meet the requirements of the budget. But it is evident that even with all the sources of income included there are many families still unable to meet or approximate these requirements.

The standard of life of these families is a very important subject in attempting to determine whether the budget standard is higher than can reasonably be expected for dependent families. But although detailed facts were secured as to the living conditions of the whole group of families, only a brief summary can be presented here. It is hoped that by a study of these facts conclusions as to the standard of living of these unskilled laborers may be drawn, from which it can be determined whether the living conditions of these families are more favorable than should be demanded for a dependent family.

FOOD

One of the most important elements in the standard of living of a family, and especially of a family in the lower economic levels, is the quantity and quality of the food. With the hope of learning how much money was spent for food, how that money was spent, and whether the food estimates of the Chicago budget were reasonable, daily accounts of expenditure for food and of the amounts of food purchased were kept for 54 families for the period of one month. The selection of these families was based mainly on their interest in the subject and their willingness and ability to keep the accounts.

When the analysis of the accounts of these 54 families was made, it was found that 31 of the families had spent less than the amount estimated in the Chicago budget, and 23 had spent more than the required amount. However, in discussing expenditures for food the selection of food is very important as well as the amount of money spent. Taking this fact into consideration, the report shows that, with only two exceptions, no family spending less than the amount estimated in the Chicago budget approached an adequate diet. Further, while some families who spent more than the estimate did not have an adequate diet because of poor selection, the only families, except the two mentioned above, who approximated closely to or exceeded the recognized standard were in the group whose expenditure equaled or exceeded that prescribed by the standard budget. In other words, although, because of faulty selection of individual items of food, a standard expenditure does not always insure an adequate diet, generally speaking, it was found that as expenditure for food increased the diet became more adequate.

CLOTHING

It was also found to be impossible to obtain the same sort of information with regard to clothing as was obtained for the food used by the families, because, while one month may be obtained as an adequate period for the study of food consumption, comparable data about clothing could not be obtained in so short a period. As an attempt to secure household accounts for a longer period of time seemed out of the question, it was decided that no attempt would be made to draw any conclusions regarding the adequacy of the clothing items, as such conclusions would have to be based on estimates alone.

HOUSING

It was not considered advisable to make a very detailed investigation of housing conditions, but certain facts about housing were obtained which were an indication of the living conditions prevailing among these families.

There are 208 families living in four-room apartments and 95 living in five rooms, that is, a total of 303 families, or 65 per cent, living in four- or five-room tenements, and 82 per cent living in

four-, five-, or six-room tenements. It is not possible here to present the detailed tables showing the number of rooms in an apartment together with the number of persons in the household.

Only 153 families, or approximately one-third of the total number, were enjoying the standard established by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of one person to one room. Not only were a large number of families below this standard, but many of them were far below it, as, for example, the households of three, four, or five persons living in one or two rooms; the households of seven or more persons living in four rooms; the households of ten or more persons living in four, five, or six rooms. Such overcrowding in itself indicates a standard of living which cannot be considered as providing even the minimum of health and decency.

Another indication of the standard of living is the number of persons in the household as compared to the number of beds. When the schedules were taken, information was secured as to the number of double beds and the number of single beds in each household. If the standard of one person to a single bed and two to a double bed can be accepted, then 235 of the families, or 52 per cent, were below and 215 were at or above the standard. Of those below the standard, many were far below it, as evidenced by the households of four or five persons having two single beds;¹ the households of six or seven persons with three or four single beds; the households of eight or nine persons with five or six single beds. Further light is thrown on this question of overcrowding when it is recalled that in 100 families there were boarders and roomers, most of whom were adults and not members of the family group.

Facts with regard to provision of bathrooms are also of interest. It was found that 195 families, or 42.5 per cent, had bathrooms as contrasted with 264 who did not have them.

HEATING AND LIGHTING

While it is not possible to set up such definite standards for heating and lighting as for some of the other factors which go to make up a standard of living, some statement about them should be made

¹ In tabulating the data each double bed was counted as two single beds.

here. As regards heating, the investigation shows that 405 families depended upon stoves and 62 upon furnaces for their heat. As it is possible to obtain an adequate amount of heat from either stoves or furnaces, this comparison throws no light on the actual conditions in the home. But since the presence of central heating is an indication of a higher standard of living than stove heat, this comparison has some significance.

As regards lighting, 330 families, or 71 per cent, had electric light in their homes, 111 had gas for illumination, and 26 had neither. In the majority of the flats having electricity for lighting, there was also gas which was used for cooking. It is rather surprising in a metropolitan area to find as many as 26 families with no light except that provided by lamps.

INDICATIONS OF COMFORT

Besides obtaining information relating to the actual necessities of life, the schedules included a section which was called "indications of comfort." By this was meant the possession of certain articles which might add greatly to the convenience of the family, or provide them with recreation or amusement. The articles included under this section were automobiles, pianos, victrolas, radios, and telephones.

It is rather interesting to note that in this day of inexpensive automobiles, only 14 out of 467 families owned automobiles, and one of these owners qualified the statement by saying that it was "only a piece of a car." Ninety-four had pianos and 188 had victrolas, which indicates a desire for recreation. Naturally, because of the expense, there were many more victrolas than pianos. About 20 per cent of the families had telephones, which again seems rather a small number. No mention of the amount spent for education or recreation will be made in this part of the report, as the consideration of all estimated expenditures will be taken up in another section.

USE OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

As 1924 was the year for which earnings were secured and was a year in which the wage-earners in these families were supposed to

be fully employed, it is interesting to know that in that year alone 134 of the supposedly "independent wage-earning families" had some contact with social agencies. These agencies were of various types, but the medical agencies were most frequently used. Thirty-seven families were reported as having free services from hospitals, 56 from dispensaries and clinics, 12 had the free services of county doctors in their homes, 10 had the services of visiting nurses, and 28 had the aid of the Infant Welfare Society. The United Charities were asked for help by 11 families; the reason given for the request in 4 of these was illness; in 4 others insufficient earnings; in 2 others, "non-support," that is, neglect of the father to provide for the family; and, in 1 case, unemployment.

Since so many of these families were obliged to supplement their earnings by various free services, the question may be raised whether there is an actual "poverty line" which separates independent families from dependent ones. Many so-called "self-supporting" families apparently rely on the use of the social agencies to supplement their income; and many others, by some untoward circumstance, are forced, for a time at least, to depend on these agencies entirely for their support.

In conclusion it may be useful to recall that the purpose of this investigation was to ascertain facts in regard to the standard of living as found in the families of unskilled laborers in Chicago in order to judge whether the budget estimates for dependent families set too high a standard for families who were being supported by relief agencies. For the purpose of having complete data on this subject, it was necessary to obtain certain facts relating to the earnings of the chief wage-earner in these families, such as the amount of the earnings, their adequacy to provide for the needs of his family, the amount to which they were supplemented from other sources, what these sources were, and finally what standard of living these earnings with such other sources of income as were being utilized could provide for such families.

Soon after the study was undertaken it became evident that there was no general agreement as to what the term "unskilled laborer" meant and no clear differentiation between this and the term "semi-

skilled laborer." Both groups were, therefore, included in the study on the ground that they both include laborers doing the simple forms of manual work which can easily be distinguished from the work done by men in the skilled trades. It was also found that the earnings in the group selected varied greatly, and ranged from approximately \$800 a year to \$2,400, with the majority less than \$1,500 a year.

When a comparison was made between the earnings of the chief wage-earners and the estimated budget, it was found that in approximately two-thirds of the families the earnings were insufficient to provide a standard of living equal to that provided by the Chicago budget. This fact is especially significant when it is recalled that these laborers were unusually well situated, as they had held regular "jobs" throughout the year and had, for the most part, been in the employ of their firms for several years.

The great importance of the other sources of income, therefore, became evident, and it was not surprising to find that these sources were utilized in 355 families. These sources were found to include the earnings of the wives and children; payments from boarders and lodgers; income from property, benefits, borrowed money; and gifts from friends and relatives. The utilization of these sources is important, not only because of their value in increasing the size of the family fund, but because of the consequences involved in the use of some of them. The fact that it was necessary in 108 families for the mothers to work—and to work at jobs of a particularly arduous type—means undoubtedly a lowering of the standard of living in those families and consequent sacrifice of the welfare of the dependent children in the families. The presence of boarders or roomers in 100 families and the overcrowding which results from these additional members of the household constitute other factors in lowering the standard of physical and moral well-being in those families, which cannot be disregarded.

When all these sources of income had been included, it was found that just over one-half of the total number of families were able to maintain a standard equal to or above the estimated budget. Since this was the case, it became necessary to learn what standard the group as a whole was maintaining in order to answer the question

as to whether or not this budget estimate was a reasonable one. Analysis of the general living conditions of the whole group and of the food consumed by a smaller number of families has shown quite clearly that the families living on a lower standard than that provided by the budget estimate are living under conditions which fail utterly to provide a standard of living that will make possible a high standard of physical, mental, and moral health and efficiency for adults, the full physical and mental growth and development of children, and provision for their moral welfare.

LEILA HOUGHTELING

REMARKS ON RACE SUPERIORITY*

WHEN Mark Twain went to London to report the celebration of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, he wrote of the colossal pomp and display. He described the bonfires on the headlands, the drilling of the army, and the mobilized fleet, up to that time the mightiest armada that had ever assembled. He concluded his account with these words: "And now I perceive that the English are mentioned in the Bible: 'Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth.'"

The irony of this comment was not shared by Kipling, who, moved by this same spectacle, wrote his now classic "Recessional," taking occasion to refer to the Americans in these lines:

If, drunk with sight of power, we loose
Wild tongues that have not Thee in awe—
Such boastings as the Gentiles use
Or lesser breeds without the Law—
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget, lest we forget!

The "lesser breeds without the Law" are the Americans, concerning whom the opinion of Kipling has never been conspicuously altitudinous. But he was humbled when he thought of "dune and headland" on which the fire had sunk and of the navy that had "melted away" "far-called," and kept praying that they do not forget. What was

* No attempt is made to supply a complete bibliographical note. The following authorities will, it is believed, prove interesting and illuminating to the student: A. H. Arlitt, "On the Need of Caution in Establishing Race Norms," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, V, 179-83; W. C. Bagley, "The Army Tests and the Pro-Nordic Propaganda," *Educational Review*, LXVII, 179-87; L. L. Bernard, *Instinct, a Study in Social Psychology*; F. Boas, "What Is Race?" *Nation*, CXX, 89-91; E. G. Conklin, *Heredity and Environment*; E. Faris, "The Mental Capacity of Savages," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXIII, 603-19; J. Finot, *Race Prejudice*; T. R. Garth, "A Review of Racial Psychology," *Psychological Bulletin*, XXII, 343-64; M. Ginsberg, *The Psychology of Society*; A. G. Keller, *Societal Evolution*; A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology*; W. I. Thomas, "Race Psychology with Particular Reference to the Immigrant and the American Negro," *American Journal of Sociology*, XVII, 725-75; M. and M. Vaerting, *The Dominant Sex*; J. M. Williams, *Foundations of Social Science*.

it he did not wish to forget? I think it was the lessons of history. The English are a proud and boastful people, but there is a letter still to be read in the original Latin addressed by Cicero to Atticus, a personal letter in which occurs a reference to the purpose of Atticus to buy some more slaves. "Whatever you do," Cicero wrote to his friend, "do not buy English slaves, for the English people are so dull and stupid that they are not fit to be slaves in the household of Atticus." In those days Rome was mistress of the world. But even then, and much more so a few centuries earlier, the Romans were looked down upon with disdain by the Greeks, who called them "barbarians," good enough to kill and fight, but devoid of culture and having base souls.

And there is in Herodotus an account of an old Egyptian priest who, turning to a small company of Grecians, said: "You Greeks are but children, you have no history, no past, no adequate civilization."

That is enough in that direction. Let us turn the other way. A famous anthropologist who has done much work in the Southwest recently asked me if I knew the people in the Texas Panhandle and the exact sociological explanation of the curious types of people who made up that eddy in the stream of progress. Two weeks later one of my summer students who teaches in a college in the same Texas Panhandle sent me with great pride a paper written by one of his students. The theme of the paper is the superiority of the Texas Panhandlers over all other inhabitants, though his argument is entirely devoted to showing that this superiority is not due to anything innate, but is entirely due to the fortunate physical environment and resulting social conditions. As I recall it, the prairies are quite wide, and they had managed to swell out the souls of men to correspond.

Well, we know the meekness of the Californian and the humility of the inhabitants of Wisconsin, and we are familiar with the same phenomenon of assumed superiority not excluding even Boston, "that land of the bean and the cod," where the Lowells and Cabots have such a restricted opportunity for conversation. The superiority which we assume of our own life as compared to that of others is obviously a widespread phenomenon. It came as a surprise, how-

ever, when scholars discovered that this same phenomenon applied also to the savage and primitive peoples of all the earth. The Greenlanders, greeting Rasmussen on his return from a long expedition, told him the news they had of the Great War. "The stupid white people keep on fighting. They are all killing each other, and it may be that ships will come no more to this land of *Men*." The Eskimo sincerely thinks himself superior to every other race.

I once made a speech in a Bantu language to a crowd of naked savages, using native proverbs and aphorisms, and sat down feeling I had done very well; and I did not lose my reward, for I heard one man in the crowd say to another: "Did you hear that white man speak? He actually has intelligence and can reason, which is quite rare among them."

It would be easy to multiply examples sufficient to warrant the generalization that every people when they contrast themselves with other people regard themselves as superior in essentials in so far as they are different. I have read many books about superior and inferior peoples and races, but have yet to see a book written by a member of an inferior race. The apparent exception but tests the rule. A subject people may come to accept the estimate of themselves which their masters have, but in this case they are not independent, and actually include in their notion of themselves the larger group. They are but the inferior part of a larger whole. Where they are separate and distinct, they think of themselves as superior, whether they be Mexicans, Winnebagos, or Melanesians.

Ethnocentrism, then, being universal, is of small value if one wishes to know the facts about comparative ability and excellence. If every race and people regard themselves as superior to every other, it is probable that most of them are wrong. Mere boasting and group egotism is hardly a proof of either excellence or ability. In fact, in personal relations we usually regard the boaster and egotist as a person who, in the latest scientific slang, is said to suffer from an "inferiority complex." He is said to "compensate" for his feeling of inferiority by asserting that he is superior. The high-minded man, said Aristotle, thought himself to be worthy of high things and was worthy of them, but he never walked fast, because there was nothing important enough to make him hurry, and he never spoke of his

enemies unless occasionally he wished to insult them. We regard the superior person as one who has the calm of dignity and assurance, and the heated and labored arguments which are so often printed in these days, in which the writer masses words together to show that his folk are better, are hardly the type of behavior that a really superior person is assumed to exhibit. The psychologists have a familiar concept, that of rationalization. It consists, as Robinson says, of "many good reasons instead of the real reasons." It is the process of finding a verbal defense with a show of logic to defend an emotional attitude or prejudice which is denied or even unconsciously held. The Jews who call themselves superior to all the rest rationalize it by assuming that God was the unwise parent of a spoiled child. They were the chosen people just as Joseph was the favorite son. Modern rationalizers have usually taken another form. They make amateur excursions into anthropology and biology. They are often quite modest in their knowledge of either, but one of the penalties of universal literacy is the dilettantism and patter "which enables men who know a little to talk as if they understood much."

And so it comes to pass that modern writers whose ethnocentrism is so conspicuous have tended to maintain their position by appeals to the biological fact of race. But race is a difficult word. It is not a fact; it is a concept. If we inquire as to the number of races, we learn that some anthropologists make three races, others five, and so on through a varying number up to nineteen; and the point is that however many or few there may prove to be, they are all made, that is, constructed. The members of the human species vary through a continuous series, and the division into races has always something in it of the arbitrary. It is easy to distinguish the Chinese, the Swedes, and the Bantus from one another, but if we try to divide the whole of mankind into races there remain unsolved problems and peoples that are not fitted into any division. This does not mean that there are no races, but it does mean that men who talk glibly about race often do not realize the difficulty of their subject.

When it comes to estimating the ability of races, the problem is infinitely more difficult. Kroeber has pointed out the amusing results of an attempt to arrange the apes, Negroes, Mongolians, and Caucasians in a series that will show more or less of animal charac-

teristics. If one considers the facial angle made by two lines drawn from the base of the nose to the orifice of the ear and to the front of the skull, respectively, the angle increases on the average in the foregoing order: ANMC. But there are other characteristics, and some of these are very useful in specifying race. For example, hair form is very constant and very useful in classifying peoples. The ape's hair is very straight, and so is the Mongolian's, while the Negro has very crisp or kinky hair, the Caucasian falling in between. In taking hair form, therefore, the order would be AMCN, the negro being farthest removed from the animal. Considering the amount of hair on the body, the ape is obviously the most hairy, the Caucasian next, while the Mongolian and the Negro are least covered with body hair. The order here would be ACMN. The white people are nearest the animal in this respect.

When it comes to the weight of the brain, the facts here are not easy to get, because most people use their brains up to the last minute and it is not convenient to weigh them separately. But so far as the facts have been gathered, the Negroes' brains are the lightest, while the Mongolians' are the heaviest. The order would in this case be ANCM. If the facts about brain weight are confirmed by further researches, it will prove to our modern writers that brain weight has no relation to ability! Race is therefore not only a difficult category to handle accurately, but is obviously a factor in civilization that is not necessarily of prime importance. The modern movement for testing intelligence and ability has demonstrated that if we take a large enough sample at random of the people in any race, there are some who are very low in ability and others who are high. The distribution of ability and excellence lies therefore within the race, and the only way that one race could be compared with another in ability would be to compare the average. If the average Eskimo is lower in intelligence than the average Caucasian, it has not been proved; and there is at present no way of proving, or indeed of disproving it.

The statement of this fact would give us very little understanding of any particular Eskimo compared with any particular American. The average wealth of Americans is far higher than the average wealth of Mexicans, but there are some American college professors

who could afford to retire if they could have as capital the annual income of some of the Mexican millionaires.

The technical question involved here is essentially that of heredity. It is an old problem and very much alive at the present time. New light is appearing, as gifted men work in their laboratories with disinterested devotion. The biologists are conscious of problems, no end of them, which the popularizer has never dreamed existed. In a recent book by Jennings are given the results of some experiments. A fish with bilateral eyes was put into another medium than the salt water where it normally lived. When the eggs of this fish were hatched, the progeny developed a cyclopean eye; that is, just one in the middle of the head. This characteristic or mutation was inherited from generation to generation. When, however, the eggs of this one-eyed fish were transferred to the original medium, the progeny developed bilateral eyes as their ancestors had done. Professor Childs, describing experiments on the *Planarium*, a little worm, says that when cut in two the animal does not die; instead there are two worms where one grew before. The tail develops a head on the wounded end, the head end develops a tail. If a *Planarium* is cut into three pieces, two new heads will develop and two new tails, the heads developing on the end that was nearest the head and the tails developing on the ends nearest the original tails. If, however, an electric current be sent in the reverse direction through the middle section of the *Planarium*, a head will develop on the tail end and a tail on the head end. So far as these two experiments generate a hypothesis, it is this, that the biological characteristics depend in part on heredity and in part upon the medium in which the development takes place and the treatment to which the inherited substance is subjected.

There are analogous facts in the realm of human nature. Consider the Janizaries. For centuries the Turks had the practice of demanding small boys from the Christian population. Such Christian boys were brought up as Mohammedans. They were fanatical Mohammedans and, to make the irony complete, were used as guards and troops against the Christians. This extreme case could be matched by many others of a similar character throughout the pages of history. The third generation of immigrants in America, in the

cases where they have gone through the public schools and mingled freely with the people of other races, are on the whole indistinguishable from the people of the earlier immigration.

Fifteen years ago Israel Zangwill wrote a play which he called *The Melting Pot*. It tried to establish the thesis that in America a new race is forming to which the different peoples each make a contribution. In a recent book by Mr. Fairchild the whole doctrine of the melting-pot is vigorously attacked. Mr. Fairchild insists that characters are national and cannot be blended or melted or molded. They can only be mixed, he says, and the mixture is disastrous.

But one should consider carefully what it is to be an American. We can speak with a certain poetical license of a soul of America. The soul of America means to me a convenient and poetical word to designate the mores, traditions, legends, expressions, and ideals which form a consistent and historical tradition which Americans may be quite actively said to share together. I know a man who was born in Europe, educated in a foreign language, and whose traditions and religious ideas were utterly alien to those prevailing here. In early life he came to America, lived with his uncle, took up his education in America in the Middle West, and now I should call him an American. He speaks English without any accent; he knows and reveres our history, our poetry, and our traditions. He shares our political and social ideals, has married a native American girl, and is the father of a native American child. His baby is being brought up in every respect as millions of American children are being brought up, and there is absolutely no occasion for denying the fact of complete assimilation in the case I am describing.

The whole argument of Mr. Fairchild and others who believe as he does could perhaps be concerted around this one question, Is assimilation a possibility? It seems possible to convince any serious student that the personality of a man is the result of his experience, and that if children are born and brought up in the midst of a given civilization, they will take it on; and in America, where the public schools are literally serving as the melting-pot of the masses, this process can be observed by anyone who will take the trouble to go and look at it.

Those who make arguments upon inherited race characteristics are not conversant with the known facts, for human nature is not a racial characteristic—it is a cultural or civilizational phenomenon. The same stock in a different situation produces an entirely different set of characteristics, and a casual reading of history will convince anyone that cultural traits change not only with the longitude, but also with the calendar. There was a time when men wrote convincingly of the sheeplike docility of the Russians. That was prior to 1905 for the most part, but certainly not subsequent to 1917. The racial characteristics of the Russians are modified by their revolutionary experiences, and so with all races.

The question of superiority and inferiority when applied to races is clearly beyond the possibility of cold scientific treatment. The difficulty is that we cannot find disinterested judges. But we are accustomed to think of superior people as those who are at least free from boasting and obtrusive assertion of their superior excellence. We are accustomed to discount the claims of individuals for superiority if they insist on asserting it overmuch. And it does seem that we might safely assert that a freedom from narrowness and prejudice, from sectarian or partisan or religious or sectional bias, should be expected of those whom we call superior.

The soul of America has been influenced and molded in no small degree by the teachings of the Greek and Roman philosophers, but even more by the ethical teachings of the Christian church. The ideals of our people have always included generosity, sympathy, kindness, and good will. We have tried to be the haven of the oppressed and the champion of the weak.

The program suggested by some, and even boldly outlined by others, that we should protect our precious racial germ plasm by being hard on the inferior races, amounts, it seems, to this tragic paradox: "This is the best civilization because our racial germ plasm is superior. The superiority of our germ plasm consists in its being the carrier of a civilization. But since the germ plasm is in danger of extermination, we should protect the civilization which the germ plasm bears by being narrow, hardhearted, and cruel. We are to put up the inner and the outer dikes against the rising tide of color. If the inferior races attempt to come, we must keep them away. We

should intimidate them and, if necessary, kill them." In other words, it is proposed to defend civilization by uncivilized methods.

It would seem that, if they are correct who so advise, we are lost either way. If we remain civilized and cultured, the lower races will displace us. If we defend ourselves, we no longer can do it without being barbarous and cruel. We shall then become as the lower races whom we are now striving to keep down.

In order to be superior, we must act inferior. We Nordics are in a dilemma.

In order to understand the question of civilization, we must consider not only the factor of race but also the factor of culture. The culture of a people, as the phrase is used by sociologists and anthropologists, includes their language, social customs, traditions, and ways in which the problems of associated life are met. Now it is easy to show that the culture of a people is not necessarily limited to any one racial stock. The culture of the French is shared by three races of the Caucasoid group, and the religion of the Western world can be introduced, and has been introduced, successfully among peoples which differ very widely in racial characteristics. The technical mastery of nature which modern science has made possible is a phenomenon of industrial Japan, even more conspicuously than of some of the Caucasian races in Southeastern Europe. So far as any facts will warrant our making conclusions, there seems to be no limit to the ability of one race to take over the technical achievements of another. The Central African Bantus can learn to use pen or pencil and write their language in Latin characters in a shorter time than is required to teach English or American children, owing to the fact that their language is spelled phonetically. The history of the ability of the Mexican Indians in taking over the railway system, not only as conductors and guards but as engineers and telegraph operators, is another of the hundreds of examples of this fact. Civilization is therefore a matter of tradition; it is a culture heritage; it is transmitted by means of contacts, sometimes formally in schools, at times informally by means of apprenticeships or family contacts. But transmitted it is; it is not inherited, and seems to be quite independent of the biological differences that divide races.

It would be unfortunate should the reader consider that the mat-

ter in question is settled in a way that admits of dogmatic and final statements. On the contrary, the sociologist and the social worker alike realize that here is a vast and fruitful field for investigation. The conclusion is therefore negative. We have much to learn about races and cultures. Most of the knowledge that our children will use is yet to be discovered. Nay, the very methods for obtaining that knowledge are, for the most part, yet to be worked out. What we should protest against with all our force is the confident dogmatism of anyone. Let pseudo-scientists lay down decalogues to presidents of republics. What we should seek for is a method of research that would give us more of wisdom. To such as speak so confidently, we feel constrained to reply, in a recently revived word of Cromwell:

"Brethren, I beseech ye, by the bowels of Christ, bethink ye lest perhaps ye may be mistaken."

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DEPORTATION LEGISLATION IN THE SIXTY-NINTH CONGRESS*

MUCH may be said in favor of the revision of the provisions for deportation in the present immigration law, not only as a matter of form and detail, but also by way of strengthening existing provisions. A policy of systematic restriction of immigration is very likely to lead to legislative regulation of expulsion. These provisions have always been conspicuous in the Chinese exclusion acts; the increasing attention given to the subject in connection with immigrants in general appears from comparing the provisions of the Act of 1907 with those of the Act of 1917; and the tightening of the cordon by the Act of 1924 has naturally led to new attempts at evasion calling for counteracting measures. The original provisions were scanty and in a measure tentative; some elaboration may have been justifiable and desirable. The question is how the task of revision has been performed.

It is proposed to consider in some detail the legal aspects of a number of the salient provisions of the measure proposed in the present Congress: those relating to procedure and penalties; those specifying the grounds of deportation; the mandatory character of the deportation; and time limitations. In view of the fact that the measure is one of revision as well as of amendment, comment on existing as well as on new provisions may not be inappropriate.

As a preliminary point it should be noted that the bill deals only with deportation in the sense of expelling one who has been previously admitted or has otherwise gained entrance, as distinguished from the compulsory return of one seeking but refused admission. Where

* At the first session of the Sixty-ninth Congress the House of Representatives passed a deportation bill which came before the Senate at the second session, beginning in December, 1926.

The case for this bill is set forth in a report presented by Mr. Johnson, the chairman of the House Committee on Immigration (*Report No. 1348*, to accompany H.R. 12444), and a large amount of explanatory material may be found in the printed *Hearings before the House Committee on H.R. 344 and H.R. 3744*, held on March 25 and 26 and April 13, 1926.

necessary to clarify, the bill uses the cumulative term "arrest and deportation" (see Sec. 10a). It would of course be better if two different terms could be found for two measures that have little in common; and in the public mind deportation is usually associated with expulsion. But since the Committee left the return provisions of the Act of 1917 untouched, it was hardly feasible to alter the established nomenclature.

Procedural provisions.—Deportation is at present perhaps the most conspicuous instance of the bureaucratic exercise of coercive power. Coercive, not punitive; for, as constitutional lawyers tell us, the act of deportation is one of international sovereignty, not of criminal punishment, and therefore not subject to the constitutional provisions relating to criminal law or procedure. Technically this is undisputed; substantially, customary safeguards that are on the whole desirable in penal justice may be undesirable in measures of expediency. The substantial question should therefore perhaps be how deportation operates under our legislation. It is obviously quite different from the occasional expulsion of the politically obnoxious foreigner which occurs under foreign systems, either without authority of statute law or under such authority but as a matter of executive discretion.

Even where our law deals with political heterodoxy, it aims to strike at classes which it is the policy of our domestic legislation to treat, as far as may be constitutionally done, as criminal (anarchists and communists); apart from these, those subject to deportation may be classified as either afflicted (insane, etc), or intruders (those entering or continuing their stay contrary to law), or offenders. If it be conceded that neither the afflicted nor the intruders are entitled to every benefit of criminal procedure, it is a grave question whether one charged with an offense should be dealt with otherwise than in accordance with old established principles in that respect, merely because the contemplated measure is not fine or imprisonment, but a penalty in many cases infinitely harder, although theoretically of a milder character. Differences of this kind have, however, found no recognition in our law, and while under the Chinese acts every expulsion required judicial action, the provisions of the other deportation act contemplated such action only in so far as they speak of

convicted offenders, and it is now proposed, with regard to some classes of offenders, to cut out the condition precedent of previous criminal conviction.

Under the existing laws, procedural provisions are meager. The acts of 1907 and 1917 provide in the briefest possible form that the person liable to expulsion "shall upon the warrant of the Secretary of the Treasury be taken into custody and deported"; the practice of a hearing rests upon administrative regulation and upon the decision of the Supreme Court in the Japanese Immigrant Case (189 U.S. 86) that at least this rudiment of due process is guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment; and the writ of habeas corpus is available to secure a judicial review of the proceeding with a view to enforcing a "fair hearing" within limits established by a very considerable number of decisions. The pending bill recognizes this system in principle, and undertakes to regulate the administrative hearing. It does so by making mandatory the prevailing departmental practice of a local hearing before an inspector, upon the basis of which the secretary of labor renders his decision; the secretary may require additional evidence or a rehearing, but the terms of the bill preclude the taking of evidence by the secretary himself. This was probably thought to be analogous to the judicial review of commission decisions, but there the commission bears the responsibility for the decision; here the authority who is responsible for the decision is not permitted to obtain direct information of the facts—a novelty in administrative law for which it is difficult to find a good reason. The practice would normally be in any event as outlined in the bill, without being made mandatory.

"The order of deportation shall refer to the particular provisions of law under which the alien is ordered deported and shall briefly state the grounds upon which such provisions of law are applicable to the alien; but it shall not be necessary to state or summarize the evidence in the order." This likewise confirms existing departmental practice (see *Hays v. Sesto*, 12 Fed. [2d] 698), and makes that practice mandatory—one of the provisions of the bill distinctly favorable to the alien.

While under the present law a warrant issued by the secretary of labor is necessary for an arrest, this requirement is to be relaxed:

the authority is not only transferred to the commissioner-general of immigration, but may be delegated by the latter to subordinate officials. A decentralization of authority may be desirable, but it is doubtful policy to deviate from the general practice of naming in the statute directly the official who is to bear the responsibility for initiating proceedings. It is also to be noted that for the first time the commissioner of immigration is associated with deportation proceedings (he is also to frame the regulations for hearings), whereas under the present law his office is confined to administrative or service functions, the exercise of coercive powers being left to the secretary and his assistants.

That the secretary of labor should be relieved of the approval of every bail bond is entirely proper; the raising of the minimum amount of bail from \$500 to \$1,000 is, however, a change that may involve hardship without corresponding benefit; there is no reason why this should not be matter of discretion under regulations. With this increased stringency should, however, be contrasted the strengthening of the humane provisions on behalf of deported aliens who require hospital treatment (Sec. 20*b* and *c*).

By Section 19*d* the procedural provisions of the bill are made applicable to deportations under any law whatsoever, i.e., to those under the acts of 1918 and 1920 and the Chinese exclusion laws as well as under the proposed amendments of the Act of 1917. The provisions of any law imposing on the alien the burden of proving his right to remain in the United States are to remain in force; this appears to apply chiefly to the Chinese exclusion laws. The proposed bill imposes upon the alien the burden of proving the time of his entry, while under Section 23 of the Act of 1924 he must also prove time and manner of entry and that his entry was lawful; it is not clear whether the latter provision is to remain in force. Since the alien is to be entitled to the production of papers in the possession of the department, a burden of proof confined to the time of entry may, reasonably applied, not involve undue hardship. The burden of proof is, however, also cast upon the alien by requiring deportation for becoming a public charge or for alcoholism and various forms of mental affliction or inferiority, if these deportable conditions are due to causes not affirmatively shown to have arisen subsequent to

entry. In many cases this must operate as an absolute liability to deportation by reason of such misfortune, and the justice of the provision should be judged in that light. It raises, however, also a constitutional question by reason of the incidental liability which such deportation imposes upon shipowners. This will be considered presently.

Penalties.—The Committee *Report* points out that under the present law the only consequence of fraudulent, evasive, or surreptitious entry is liability to deportation; it is proposed to correct this by making such entry a misdemeanor punishable by fine and imprisonment (Sec. 11 of the bill). Since the Act of 1924 has greatly increased the temptation to unlawful entry, an additional deterrent is justifiable and legitimate. Section 10 of the proposed law, however, also makes it a felony for one who has been expelled to enter or attempt to re-enter the country. This provision not falling under the constitutional prohibition of *ex post facto* laws, it is retroactively applied to past deportations. The justice of the provision must be doubted. Evasive or surreptitious entry is already dealt with by Section 11, and while such entry in the face of previous expulsion constitutes an aggravation, there may be circumstances relieving it of that element of infamy that should characterize a felony. However, Section 10 is not confined to surreptitious entry. An alien may be deported because he has become a public charge after entry; he later on becomes well-to-do, and comes to this country as a visitor or otherwise in a perfectly regular manner. Section 10 makes such entry a felony. If that is not the legislative intent, Section 10 should be rewritten; and an entry that is not surreptitious should not be penalized. On the contrary, the provision authorizing the secretary of labor to consent to reapplication for admission should be extended to cases of expulsion which are analogous to cases of exclusion.

In connection with deportation the obligation to carry the alien back is imposed upon the owner of the ship that brought him, wherever the law considers the circumstances to be such that a liability can be imputed to him (deportation for antecedent causes within five years, or if he knew or could have known, irrespective of time),

and the obligation is to be made effective by administratively imposed and enforced penalties (Sec. 19g, *h*; Sec. 20e, *f*). These provisions are not new, and the administrative penalty has been sustained by the Supreme Court (*Oceanic S.S. Co. v. Stranahan*, 214 U.S. 320). The mere fact that the provision is valid appears to be considered by Congress as a complete justification for its retention. Something is to be said for administrative penalties on the score of expeditiousness, but they should be subject to full and free judicial review, which may be so conditioned as to prevent delay. The law now provides for release of the ship upon deposit of the amount of the fine pending the determination of the liability by the secretary of labor, and it is difficult to see why there should not be an opportunity for judicial determination on the same condition. The shipowner may of course sue the secretary or perhaps the government for a refund if he can show that the secretary acted without jurisdiction or in violation of law, but Congress apparently intends to make the decision of the secretary final as far as possible. It will be noted that in certain respects the order of deportation proceeds on findings where a burden of proof placed upon the alien is not met; this is valid as against the alien; but can such a finding be made the basis of an obligation imposed upon the shipowner without the need of proof by the government or the possibility of disproof in court by the shipowner? This is, to say the least, doubtful, and there is no real necessity for so doubtful a provision.

Grounds of deportation.—These are enumerated in what is to be subdivision (a) of an amended Section 19 of the Act of 1917. There is a gain in lucidity of arrangement, the cumulated provisos of the present law being replaced by appropriate subdivisions; but the provisions remain sufficiently complex to make their reading and understanding a matter of some labor. The enumeration reveals the following principal categories, stated in other than the statutory terms: original inadmissibility; supervening disqualification not of a criminal character (becoming a public charge or mentally afflicted); surreptitious entry; staying longer than authorized where entry was for a limited period; commission of serious crimes and repeated commission of other offenses (as evidenced by specified convictions); and

specified forms of misconduct irrespective of criminal conviction, the latter including the aiding of unlawful entry or of the evasion of deportation.

As compared with the present law, the new list reveals changes in phraseology, fully commented on in the *Committee Report*, and important additions. The most striking innovation is the extension of the forms of misconduct which render liable to deportation without criminal conviction. While under the present law it is only prostitution and practices ancillary thereto that can be dealt with in this way, it is proposed to subject to equally summary power certain other categories of aliens supposedly equally obnoxious, and popularly designated as white-slavers, dope peddlers, and alien smugglers. Although the pamphlet containing the printed hearings has printed as its head the caption "Deportation of Alien Criminals, Gunmen, Narcotic Dealers, Defectives, etc.," the bill, as pointed out by the minority report, does not cover "gunmen," nor does it apply to "bootleggers," except as these two classes may constitute convicted offenders like other criminals. The extension of bureaucratic penal jurisdiction is not in itself a desirable thing, and it is to be hoped that Congress will not yield unduly to departmental pressure in that direction.

What should be insisted upon in any event is that provisions granting such powers be free from "catching" clauses. The Committee has deemed it wise to eliminate from its bill the term "offense involving moral turpitude" which is found in the present law; yet it substitutes for "importing for an immoral purpose," which obviously has a restricted meaning, as one of the grounds of deportation, the "entering for an immoral purpose," which may be stretched to mean anything obnoxious to the official sense of moral or political propriety. When the bill makes violators of the White Slave Traffic Act deportable, even members of Congress may not realize that the law going by that name does not only deal with the commercial exploitation of vice, but covers acts of immorality which under state law may not be crimes at all; cases of that kind are not uncommonly found in the federal reports. Not every violator of the Harrison Drug Act is a "dope peddler," and a relative or friend may aid in the unlawful entry of an alien into the United States without being an alien

smuggler. The law is aimed at types of professionals of which the country should rid itself, but by reason of inadequate discrimination in phraseology, it hits the occasional or even technical offender, whom it visits with a penalty altogether disproportionate to the offense, without the checks of judicial procedure.

If the bill passes in its present form, Congress will have committed itself to a severity of policy which it probably neither desires nor intends, which may become the instrument of private malice, and which not only administrative authorities, but courts, will be bound to enforce, with even the ultimate recourse to the pardoning power unavailable.

Mandatory character of provisions.—Where, as in European states, deportation is an unregulated and political act of sovereignty, it is also a matter of discretion. When our immigration law provides that the alien, for stated reasons, "shall be taken into custody and deported," it expresses a legislative intent, that the application of the law shall not be discretionary. Only in connection with concealing and harboring an alien liable to deportation, the proposed law requires that the secretary shall find, as a prerequisite to the deportation, that the alien guilty of this ancillary offense is an undesirable resident of the United States. This clearly leaves room for mitigating circumstances and for the exercise of discretion, and is perhaps as strong a phrase as could be chosen to inculcate consideration and leniency. This favor is not extended to aliens assisting unlawful entry, although it is not difficult to imagine in this class of cases equally extenuating conditions.

The present law provides that in the case of a conviction for crime, deportation is not to take place if the sentencing judge, upon notice to representatives of the state, makes a recommendation to the secretary of labor against deportation; yet under the present law the crime must be one involving moral turpitude. In the proposed bill this qualification is dropped, and consequently it may be presumed that there will be more frequent occasion for such recommendation against deportation as the present law makes possible; but for some reason not revealed in the Committee's *Report* the proposed bill eliminates the provision.

The question of leniency in particular cases presents a difficult

problem. It would not do to leave deportation in every case to administrative discretion, any more than the prosecution of crime could be left to the discretion of prosecuting officials; such discretion as is inevitable in either case (and which of course is liable to be stretched) relates to the legal aspects of the particular case, the state of the evidence, and the possibility of enforcement. A universal rule of law, however, permits the tempering of criminal justice by the prerogative of mercy. Yet since deportation is not criminal punishment, the pardoning power of the President does not apply. The bill merely provides that an unconditional pardon shall relieve from deportation; but normally this is the act of a state governor, and it does not apply to the numerous grounds of deportation established without criminal conviction. This is a serious defect in the law, which will inevitably be supplied by extra-legal non-exertion of authority; surely it would be practicable to vest a power of remission in the secretary, or preferably in the President.

Time limitations.—This subject is given a great deal of attention and is handled more carefully and elaborately than in the existing law; it is a different question whether what has been produced represents sound policy. The problem is more complex than that of the statute of limitations in a criminal code; in the latter the question is simply what lapse of time after commission shall condone an offense; deportation, on the other hand, deals with continuing conditions as well as with offenses, and there is to be considered both lapse of time from the arising of a cause of deportation to the institution of proceedings, and the lapse of time from entry into the country to the arising of the cause; it is only in the case of unlawful entry that the two coincide. To illustrate: a convicted offender (except in the case of repeated convictions for felony) may be deported only if the offense is committed within ten years from entry, and only until the expiration of three years from the termination of imprisonment; otherwise there is no time limit, so that if nine years after entry the alien is imprisoned for thirty years, he may be deported one year thereafter, i.e., forty years after entry, the argument being that otherwise imprisonment and deportation could not be cumulated. So, in order to warrant deportation, insanity or other forms of affliction or dependence must arise within seven years, but once hav-

ing arisen they render liable to deportation indefinitely; the argument (an examination of the *Hearings* shows how little it is substantiated) here is that otherwise relatives might take care of the alien until he could no longer be deported, and then dump him upon the community.

A brief period is set by the bill for deporting those who before 1924 have entered surreptitiously or stayed beyond the time of a limited permit, so that the date of July 1, 1927, will operate as a blanket condonation; apart from this the tendency is to extend the period of limitation or to remove it altogether.

It is submitted that a time limit for any deportation (exceptional political cases may be ignored because they would be taken care of by special emergency legislation) is demanded by both equity and practical considerations. After five years an alien may become naturalized, and probably the majority of them do become citizens; of those who do not, some are by law excluded from naturalization (in the future most of these will be unable to come in as immigrants, but may come in as treaty aliens, such as merchants, and Mexicans, who are probably unnaturalizable, will continue to immigrate), and some are rejected either because they cannot furnish the necessary proof or because they do not measure up to the judicial standard of character and attachment to the Constitution; if such aliens are permitted to remain in the country, it is quite unfair to hold over them the "Damocles' sword" of deportation, which in practically every such case constitutes a penalty of extraordinary severity. It may be said that those who willingly forego naturalization take their chances; but after a prolonged period of residence a strong case exists against deportation. It is not necessary to imagine extreme instances;¹ barring the question whether in course of time a country

¹ The present writer put to the Immigration Committee the case of a Frenchwoman coming to this country to marry an American, and not knowing that under the Act of 1922 marriage does not naturalize her; many years later it is discovered that within seven years she had become a victim of hereditary insanity; the letter of the bill requires her deportation. The Chairman acknowledged the force of the suggestion (see *Hearings*, p. 13). The newspapers some time ago discussed the possibility of deporting a convicted bootlegger, it appearing that he had come to this country as a boy of six and had never been naturalized. A federal court of appeals prevented the deportation of an Italian who had been in the United States since infancy, and who was a total stranger in Italy (*U.S. v. Curran*, 8 Fed. [2d] 355).

does not become partly responsible for the conduct or condition of even the strangers in its midst, it is certain that with every additional year of residence the hardship of deportation grows, and the considerations against the exercise of the power become stronger; and normally the alien will have an American family, often dependent upon him for support.

Quite apart from these factors of equity on behalf of the alien, what about the equities of the country of his origin? How can it be asked to take back a person who has become totally estranged, who for many years has been subject to American influences and environment, whom an American prison may have rendered unfit for self-support, who has no longer any home or settlement in his native place? Can the United States ask such a country to take the alien back? Can it even fairly ask for a treaty promise to take him back as a condition of admitting him? And how will deportation work where the country of origin can be approached only through another country, and that country refuses admission? These difficulties are not imaginary, for there are some countries which at present refuse to take back those who have been absent for a number of years, and the United States simply has to acquiesce. What is the value of a mandatory provision if the power is lacking to give it effect?

These considerations are of course strongest against the total removal of time limits, but they also militate against proposed extensions from five to ten, or from three to seven, years. While no conclusive argument can be made on the mere number of years, it is submitted that the naturalization period, which is five years, should be recognized as a proper and normal limit. It is certainly to be hoped that this matter will receive renewed consideration before the bill becomes a law. Where the provision for deportation without time limit would benefit the country, it will not work, and where it will work, it will work hardship and injustice.¹

¹ The following quotation from a recent federal decision is in point: "At any rate we think it not improper to say that deportation under the circumstances would be deplorable. Whether the relator came here in arms or at the age of ten, he is as much our product as though his mother had borne him on American soil. He knows no other language, no other people, no other habits, than ours; he will be as much a stranger in Poland as any one born of ancestors who immigrated in the seventeenth century. However heinous his crimes, deportation is to him exile, a dreadful punishment, abandoned

It should be understood that the bill is not a complete revision of the law of deportation; the Chinese acts and the acts of 1918 and 1920 remain in force. Indeed the clause of the Act of 1917 relating to anarchists was eliminated because also covered by the Act of 1918-20. This savors somewhat of pedantry. Unless there was a purpose of facilitating the repeal of the "political" deportation provisions—and the chairman of the Committee has made it very clear that he favors them (see *Hearings*, p. 69)—it would have been better to incorporate these provisions in a consolidated deportation act.

From a drafting point of view it is also to be regretted that the principal clauses of the bill should be put in the form of amendments to three sections of the Immigration Act of 1917, while other clauses constitute independent sections which are not made part of the Immigration Act. The whole subject of immigration and deportation is thus made even more complicated, unwieldy, and difficult to grasp than it is at present, and that is saying a great deal. With every allowance for the exigencies of legislative tactics, it seems that some better form of revision should have been possible. That aspect of the matter is of course likely to be regarded with profound indifference, and, since it is only a question of "undesirable aliens," it may be difficult to arouse an interest even in the substantive features of the bill; but a proper regard for sound standards of law and justice would seem to demand a reconsideration at least of the outstanding blemishes of the proposed bill: the failure to discriminate in the definition of deportable acts; the absence of a power of remission; and the proposition to allow deportation without limit of time.

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by the common consent of all civilized peoples. Such, indeed, it would be to any one, but to one already proved to be incapable of honest living, a helpless waif in a strange land, it will be utter destruction. That our reasonable efforts to rid ourselves of unassimilable immigrants should in execution be attended by such a cruel and barbarous result would be a national reproach" (*U.S. ex rel. Klonis v. Davis*, 13 Fed. [2d] 630).

NEGRO MORTALITY RATES IN CHICAGO¹

A RECENT bulletin by the Health Commissioner of the City of Chicago cites figures showing that for 1925 Chicago had the lowest death-rate of any city of a million or more population, and calls attention to the major factors underlying this enviable record.²

Only a few days after the publication of this article, however, the Commissioner of Health said to the members of the Negro Health Committee of Chicago that the Negro citizens of Chicago had a death-rate more than twice that of the whites and an infant mortality rate of 118 for Negroes as compared to 71 for whites. He further stated that Negroes have a still-birth rate more than twice as great as that of whites, a death-rate from tuberculosis and syphilis nearly six times as great, and a death-rate from pneumonia more than three times that of the whites. The Commissioner stated that although approximately \$2,000,000 has been spent each year by the municipal tuberculosis sanitarium in the fight against tuberculosis in Chicago, the Negro death-rate from tuberculosis for the past twelve years shows no appreciable decline, but, on the contrary, has increased so rapidly for the past three years that deaths among this group, which comprises only one-twentieth of the city's population, have raised the total rate for the city.

In giving the causes for the favorable health record for the city at large, a Chicago newspaper, quoting from the Commissioner of Health, lists the following:³ (1) General health education and co-operation by the mayor, civic bodies, and the great general public.

¹ EDITORIAL NOTE.—This study of the Chicago death-rate and its probable relation to the public health facilities of the areas of maximum concentration was based on a report of the Chicago Negro Health Committee, which was submitted to the Commissioner of Health, December, 1926. Certain of the facts included are the result of studies made in connection with work of the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund, with which Dr. Harris is associated.

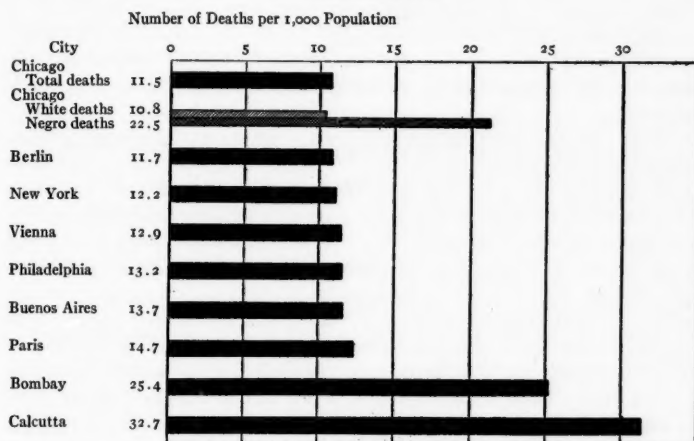
² *Chicago's Health*, weekly bulletin edited by Herman N. Bundesen, M.D., Commissioner, Chicago Department of Health, June 29, 1926.

³ The *Chicago Tribune*, Sunday, June 27, 1926.

(2) Strict regulations on quarantines and other preventive measures to check disease. (3) Abatement of the smoke evil. (4) Reduction of infant mortality through prenatal clinics and other baby welfare work. (5) Correction of defects in school children. (6) Safe water, food, and milk supplies, good climate, adequate sewage disposal, and improved housing conditions. The newspaper article added: "Chicago is the healthiest large city in the civilized world, and has

CHART I

DEATH-RATES IN CITIES OF OVER 1,000,000 POPULATION FOR WHICH DATA ARE AVAILABLE, 1925



proved for the second consecutive year the city's clear supremacy as a safe place in which to live and rear a family."

With the statement of the Health Commissioner appears a chart comparing death-rates in all cities of over 1,000,000 population in the world for which data were available for 1925.¹ This chart is reproduced above with a modification in order to show the separate rates for the Negro and white population in Chicago.

The striking fact brought out by this chart is the close agreement between the Negro death-rate in Chicago and that of the most un-

¹ Data not available for London and Osaka.

healthy cities in the world. Although the death-rate for the entire city of Chicago is lower than that of any of these large cities, we must go down the list to Bombay, with the second highest death-rate in the group, to find a rate higher than that of the Chicago Negroes. Would the Negro, then, be as well off in Bombay as in Chicago? The following editorial from the *Chicago Whip* of January 23, 1926, shows the attitude of this organ of public opinion concerning Chicago as a safe place for Negroes to live:

Health statistics indicate that the death-rate on the South Side, Chicago's throbbing center of black people, is higher than any other section of the city. This fact, adduced from vital statistics, sent broadcast without mention of any of the causes which contribute, appeals to our enemies and is bruited about to our detriment and confounds us on all sides. No mention is made of the equally true fact that, in proportion to population, the South Side has less of those agencies which combat disease, pestilence, and death than any other section of the city.

Aside from congested housing conditions, there is a woeful, almost criminal, lack of hospital facilities, free clinics, and dispensaries. Recreational provisions for the growing youth are almost nil. The absence of infant welfare stations, sufficient in number and convenient of location, account for telling toll taken by the "grim reaper" among the infants of the race. Public baths are conspicuous by their absence. Playgrounds are just beginning to make their appearance. Perhaps later there will be swimming pools.

If the Department of Health of Chicago recognizes one fact, it ought to be interested in the other. If there is a cause, there is a cure. If it is not the duty of the city to make all parts of the city a healthy place in which to live, it is certainly the duty of a community to see that it gets all that the city has to give for the protection of health. If we desire to be more healthy, conserve our numbers, and make our tribe increase, then we must make our wants known. We can at least let the city know that we recognize the danger and ask that proper safeguards be given us. If the demand is made with the solid backing of the whole community, it cannot be ignored.

The *Chicago Whip* denies neither the fact that Chicago is the healthiest large city in the world, nor the reasons for its supremacy, but does indicate that the same forces and agencies which have caused the improvement of the general health of the city have not been used among Negroes, and argues that they should be used in order that Chicago may become a healthier city. Chicago has not as yet achieved the healthy conditions of some of the smaller cities in the United States. Is Chicago held back in the struggle for public

health by conditions in a few sections of the city? Let us examine the facts.

The United States Census Bureau estimates the population of Chicago for 1925 as 2,964,875, of which 160,000 are Negroes. The Negro plays a prominent part in the development of Chicago. The first settler (a facsimile of whose home is now on exhibit at the Chicago Historical Society) was a Negro, Jean Baptiste Pointe De Saible, a native of Santo Domingo. In the whole history of the development of Chicago, the Negro has occupied a considerable place, and, since the curtailing of European immigration, has played an increasingly important rôle in supplying the unskilled labor necessary to the efficient working of the steel and packing industries, two of the most important sources of Chicago's prosperity. Chicago is becoming increasingly well known as a convention city, and the large number of Negroes, male and female, who are occupied in the various avenues of domestic service play no inconsiderable part in maintaining the city's reputation as an agreeable hostess. The Negro is represented in every publication showing the various phases of Chicago's life, from Dun and Bradstreet to *Who's Who*.

There are very few areas in Chicago in which a few Negroes do not live. The larger proportion, however, live in the Second and Third wards. The accompanying maps¹ (Figs. 1 and 2) indicate the proportion of Negroes in the total population of certain areas in Chicago and the ward boundaries of the city. In parts of the Second and Third wards more than 80 per cent of the population are Negroes.²

We may think of the Second and Third wards as comprising in 1925 a homogeneous city with a population of 124,000 and a voting strength of 61,212.³ How does this city compare in essential particulars with metropolitan Chicago?

¹ We are indebted to the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago for the loan of these maps, which have been prepared by the Staff of the School, and which will appear in the volume on "Population and Housing Conditions in Chicago" to be published during the current year by the University of Chicago Press.

² U.S. Census of 1920. The proportion is probably higher in 1925, but no reliable estimates are available.

³ *Chicago Daily News Almanac* (1926), pp. 814, 894.

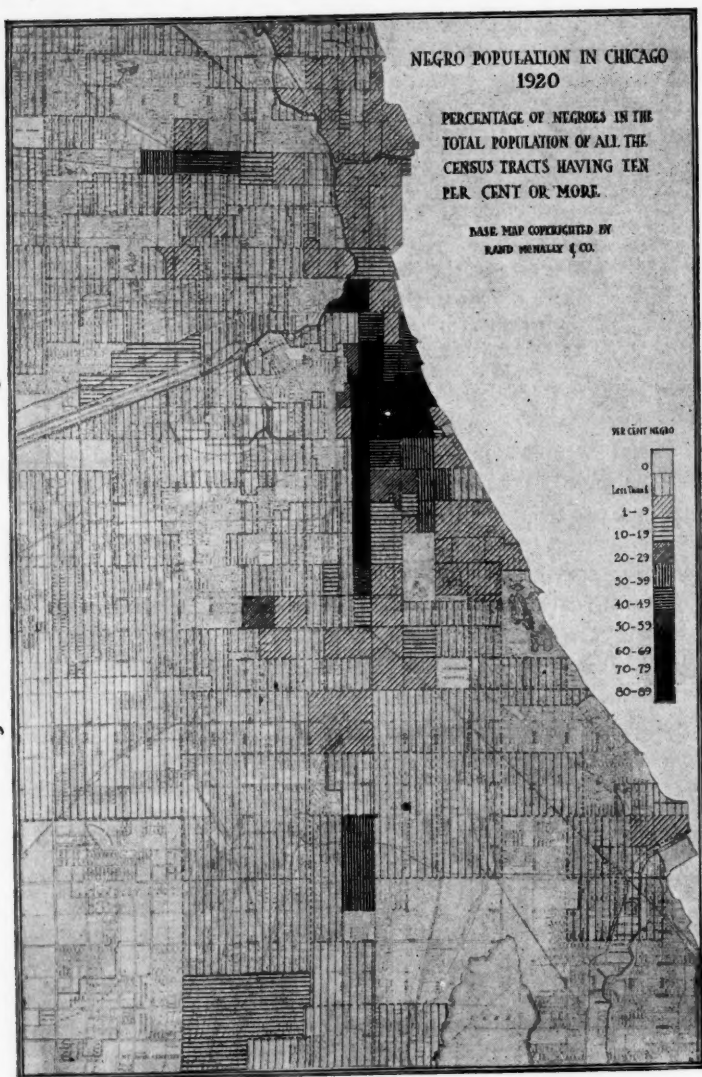


FIG. 1

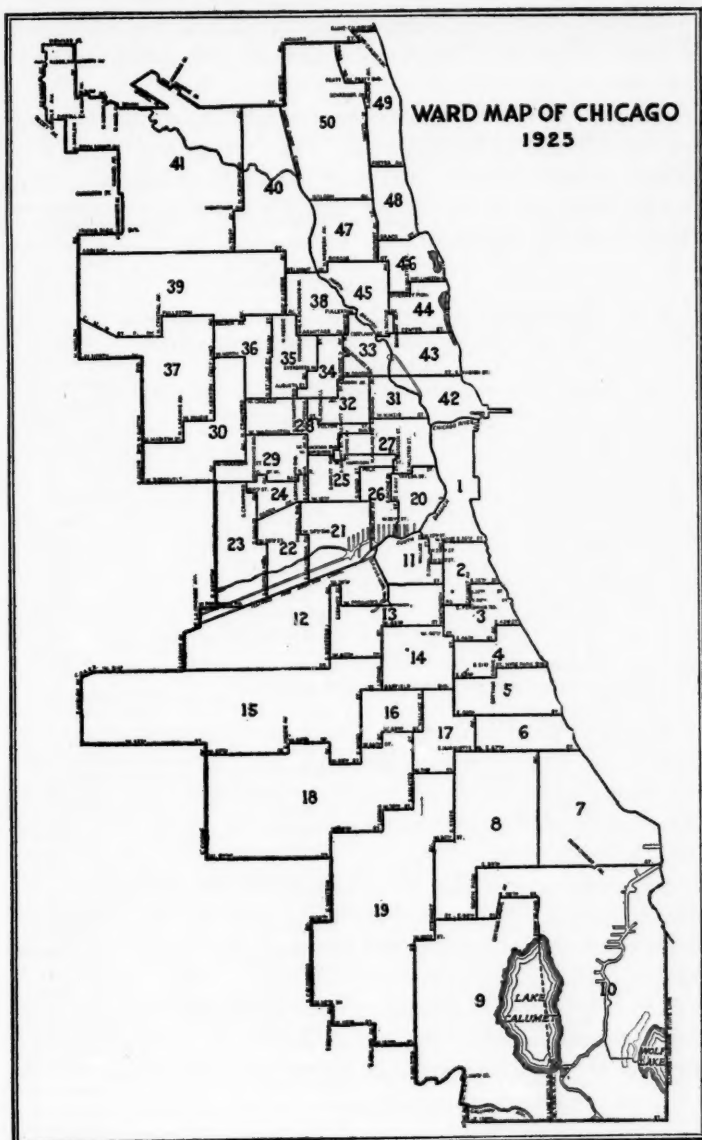


FIG. 2

Chart II, reproduced from the annual report of the Department of Health for the city of Chicago,¹ presents a comparison between these two wards and other wards in Chicago.

A glance at this chart shows that the death-rates from all causes were much higher in the Second and Third wards than in any other wards in the city. The death-rate for Chicago as a whole in 1925 was 11.5 per thousand. In the Second Ward the rate was 19.5, and in the Third Ward, 18.2 per thousand.

TABLE I
DEATH-RATE PER 100,000 POPULATION FROM SPECIFIED
CAUSES FOR THE WHITE AND NEGRO POPULATION OF
CHICAGO IN 1925*

Cause of Death	Total	White	Negro
Tuberculosis.....	83.2	65.7	382.5
Pneumonia.....	102.7	91.2	301.8
Alcoholism.....	9.2	9.2	8.7
Scarlet fever.....	4.3	4.3	5.6
Measles.....	3.9	3.8	5.6
Nephritis.....	103.2	100.0	307.5
Cancer.....	107.6	108.5	91.2
Heart disease.....	210.6	201.8	307.5
Diphtheria.....	8.0	8.1	7.5
Puerperal causes.....	10.1	9.4	21.8
All causes.....	1,146.0	1,082.0	2,248.0

* Compiled from records in the Health Department.

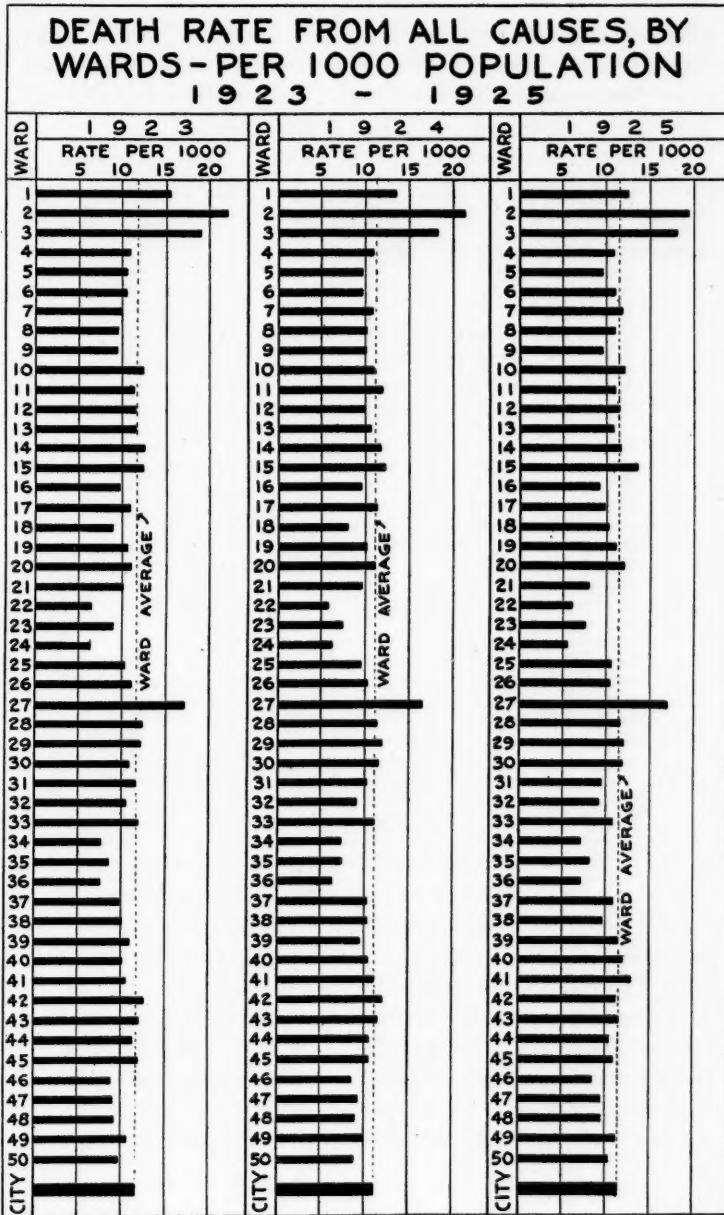
The fact that the only other rate above 15 per thousand is to be found in the Twenty-seventh Ward, an area on the near West Side well known as one of the most densely populated and unhealthful regions of the city, makes the higher death-rate of the Negro wards even more significant.

Comparative mortality rates compiled by the Chicago Department of Health and presented in Table I show also wide discrepancies in the rates for the white and Negro populations for certain diseases.

The Negro rates for diseases such as tuberculosis, heart disease, and pneumonia, in which care and sanitation play a very important part, are very much higher than the rates for the whites. On the

¹ *Annual Report for 1923, 1924, and 1925*, p. 778. Chart reproduced by permission of the Department of Health.

CHART II



other hand, there is close agreement in the rates for cancer, which strikes and kills regardless of care, and in the rates for diphtheria, whose deadly nature and rapid spread have caused its almost universal diagnosis and early and adequate treatment.

Moreover, the Negro infant mortality rate was 118.6 per 1,000 births in 1925, while the death-rate for the white infants was only 71.4 per 1,000. Of course, the unduly high rate for Negroes may be partly explained by a failure to report all births.

TABLE II
DEATH-RATES FROM TUBERCULOSIS PER 100,000 POPULATION
FOR WHITE AND NEGRO POPULATION OF CHICAGO IN 1925*

YEAR	PULMONARY		ALL OTHER FORMS	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
1912.....	124	430	22	58
1913.....	133	341	23	52
1914.....	134	334	21	56
1915.....	145	313	23	49
1916.....	122	292	19	38
1917.....	120	331	19	47
1918.....	119	344	19	77
1919.....	96	309	15	64
1920.....	76	258	12	62
1921.....	63	230	10	63
1922.....	59	232	9	48
1923.....	60	258	9	50
1924.....	59	300	10	62
1925.....	58	366	7	52

* Compiled from Grace L. Robey, "A Statistical Study of Tuberculosis for the City of Chicago" (1926), an unpublished Master's thesis in the University of Chicago Library.

While the total death-rate has fallen from 23.19 to 11.46 per thousand population in the fifty years since the organization of the Health Department, the Negro rate shows considerably less improvement. It now stands 22.5, nearly as high as the total rate before the organization of the Health Department.

The progress made in the reduction of the white death-rate from tuberculosis between 1912 and 1925, as shown in Table II and Chart III, is a marked contrast to the history of the Negro death-rate from the same disease.

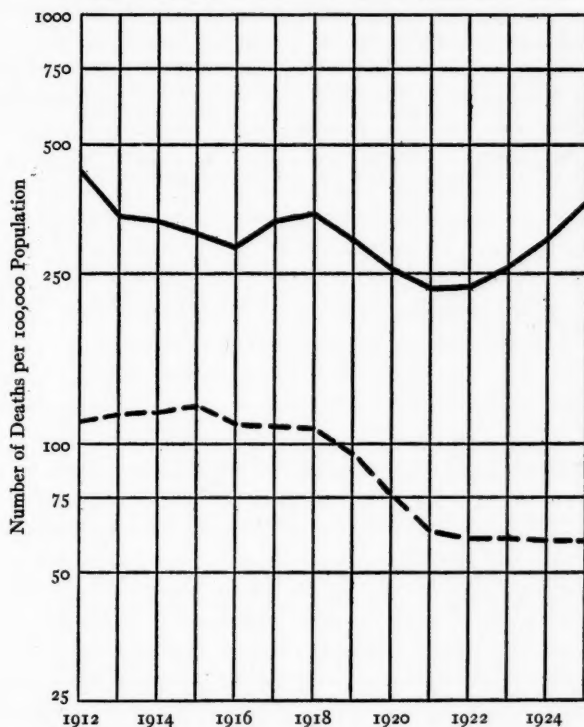
The Negro rate for deaths from pulmonary tuberculosis, to be

sure, did decline considerably between 1918 and 1921, but more slowly than that of the white population. Moreover, after 1921, while the white rate continued to decline, the Negro rate increased rapidly,

CHART III

DEATH-RATES FROM PULMONARY TUBERCULOSIS PER 100,000 POPULATION
FOR THE WHITE AND NEGRO POPULATION OF
CHICAGO, 1912-25

(Solid line, Negro death-rate; broken line, white death-rate)



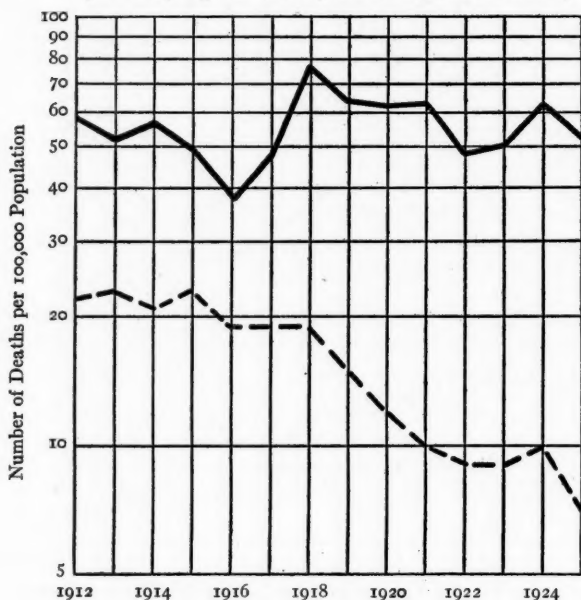
from that year up to 1925. During this period a rapid migration from southern rural areas to northern city conditions must undoubtedly explain in part the increasing death-rate. In 1912 the Negro death-rate from pulmonary tuberculosis was three and one-half times as

great as the white rate; in 1925 the Negro rate was more than six times that of the white population.

Chart IV indicates an even more unfavorable history of deaths from other forms of tuberculosis.

CHART IV
DEATH-RATES FROM OTHER FORMS OF TUBERCULOSIS PER 100,000
POPULATION FOR THE WHITE AND NEGRO POPULATION
OF CHICAGO, 1912-25

(Solid line, Negro death-rate; broken line, white death-rate)



While the rate for such deaths among white persons has declined almost steadily since 1912, the rate for Negro persons shows fluctuations about a trend that is practically stationary. No real advance has been made since 1912.

The high death-rate in the Negro wards, comparable, however, to the rate of the most congested area inhabited by white persons, suggests that environmental conditions may affect decidedly the health

of Negro citizens. It is impossible in a brief article to set forth all the necessary facts to show the lack of facilities proved to be of benefit in promoting the public health. It is certain, however, that if for any part of the community there is insufficient attention given to the matter of spread of disease, if there are insufficient facilities for promoting the public health, such as hospitals, dispensaries, infant welfare stations, parks, and playgrounds, we may expect an unfavorable record of sickness and death. What conditions exist with regard to these facilities in the Second and Third wards?

The problem of the enforcement of quarantine regulations admits of two major divisions: first, there is the report of the case requiring the institution of quarantine; and second, the prompt and efficient application of control measures. The major responsibility for the prompt reporting of cases of contagious diseases rests upon the shoulders of the local neighborhood physician. The institution of quarantine is never a pleasing duty. If, in addition to the natural repugnance of the family, there exists a fear on the part of the household that there will be unusually severe hardships, the task is doubly hard. "The power over a man's subsistence is the power over his will." If, in addition to this factor, there is also at play in the mind of the physician the belief that the operation of the law will not be kind and impartial, there is laid the ground for much of the failure to enforce quarantine regulations, a failure conducive to the spread of epidemics and to the loss of time in the battle against disease.

Under present conditions, the reporting of a case of a major contagious disease nearly always means the passing of the case from the control of the Negro physician who may have been employed. That is, if a case of tuberculosis reported by the Negro physician fails to receive adequate attention because of a long waiting list at the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium, the patient loses some confidence in his physician and the case may drift without care.

A study of the Health Department compilation for eleven months of 1925 shows that there was a death-rate from tuberculosis of 173 per 100,000 population in the Second Ward and a rate of 119 per 100,000 in the Third Ward, and that during this period 545 cases in the Second and 444 in the Third Ward were reported per 100,000 population. Applying the commonly accepted ratio of nine

cases for each death, it is obvious that cases of tuberculosis in this area were not promptly reported to the Department, as one in three or four died. In the Fourteenth and Fifteenth wards, where the average death-rate from tuberculosis was 57 and 51 per 100,000 respectively, 355 and 239 cases per 100,000 were reported. Thus only one in five or six cases died.

The failure to secure prompt treatment for tuberculosis among colored patients is reflected also in the report of the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium for 1923 and 1924. The number of patients visiting the dispensary at 2950 Calumet Avenue, in the largest Negro ward, decreased from 26,587 in 1923 to 21,391 in 1924. Philadelphia, when faced with a similar failure of the Negro inhabitants of that city to make use of the clinics and dispensaries, began the widespread and successful use of Negro physicians and nurses.¹

In the case of patients suffering from syphilis, the facilities for treatment are now less adequate than they were a few years ago. During the year 1922, 536 of the 1,244 cases of syphilis treated at the forty-five clinics of the Health Department were treated at the South Side Dispensary. Notwithstanding this fact and the further fact that the Negro case rate from syphilis and the associated conditions is several times that of the general population, this clinic has been discontinued and no substitute provided within the boundaries of the district. It is no doubt true that many of the deaths reported as cases of tuberculosis are in reality due to syphilis.

For general medical care the conditions are not much better. Although ten hospitals are located within the Second and Third wards, only two of these, Wilson and Provident hospitals, admit Negroes without restriction. These are both small hospitals, with sixty and fifty beds, respectively. The others either admit no Negro patients or admit them only in emergency cases. Among the ninety-five hospitals throughout the city, more than one-third have some restrictions on the admission of Negro patients.

A survey of the facilities for prenatal care in Chicago was made in 1922 by the Chicago Community Trust. The standards and recommendations of this survey were:

¹ S. T. Mossell, *A Study of the Negro Tuberculosis Problem in Philadelphia*, with an introduction by H. R. M. Landis (Philadelphia: Henry Phipps Institute, 1923).

In view of Chicago's losses of mothers and infants, by death and disease, from causes connected with childbirth, and in view of the saving results of prenatal care, it is recommended that prenatal care be extended to all prospective mothers whom at present it does not reach by: (1) education of the public to the perils of childbirth, and their easy avoidance through proper foresight and care, such methods as proved effective in the campaign against tuberculosis being used: magazines, the press, pulpit, and paid public lectures, propaganda by health officials, personal contacts of home visitors, etc.; (2) a direct educational campaign among the physicians through a series of papers on prenatal care and obstetric subjects, in medical circles; (3) persuasion of the hospitals to insist upon adequate prenatal care of all patients enrolling on their books for future confinement; (4) the endowment of chairs of obstetrics and of free maternity beds; (5) the establishment of many more prenatal centers, through existing as well as new channels, paying particular regard to such neglected groups as colored patients; (6) the adequate material equipment of all such centers; (7) the maintenance of staffs, medical, nursing, social service, and clerical, sufficient in size to administer them.¹

In 1925 the Negro death-rate from puerperal causes was more than twice the white death-rate from this cause; the white rate was 9.4 per 100,000 and the Negro rate was 21.8. The Negro infant mortality rate was also higher than the white infant mortality rate, the former being one and two-thirds times the latter; the Negro rate shows 118.6 deaths per 1,000 births as against 71.4 deaths per 1,000 births among white infants.

In the Second and Third wards more than 80 per cent of the population are Negroes. Here, then, is an excellent field in which to maintain adequate prenatal and infant welfare service if the high death-rate among Negro mothers and babies is to be lowered. Two of the twenty-four infant welfare stations of the Health Department are located within the Second and Third wards. Conferences are held at these stations three days a week, but these apply only to children from birth to two years of age. No provision is made for prenatal care at these stations. Of course, since there are only twenty-four stations in the city, whereas there are fifty wards, it may be argued that the Second and Third wards now have more than their share of such work. Yet this does not prove that these wards have an adequate service for infant welfare and prenatal care.

¹ *Prenatal Care in Chicago: A Survey by the Chicago Community Trust (1922)*, p. 9.

The Infant Welfare Society of Chicago maintains three classes of stations, A, B, and C. Class A stations give advice and aid during pregnancy and after the birth of the child until he is six years old. Class B stations care for children from birth to six years. Class C stations look to the welfare of infants from birth to two years of age only. But one of these stations, the Celia Parker Woolley station, is within the area of the Second and Third wards. This is a class C station with facilities only for the infant from birth to two years. The Fuller Park station is within two blocks of the Third Ward boundaries, but it also is a class C station.

None of these agencies, then, is equipped to combat the dangers of pregnancy through prenatal care, and none of them includes in its program the care of the child past two years of age.

Another of the most essential factors in proper child care for the Negro group is adequate provision for day nurseries. The report of the Children's Committee of the Illinois Department of Public Welfare points out, in naming the factors surrounding Negro children, that the "limited economic and industrial opportunity open to Negro men"¹ forces Negro women to do wage-paid work outside the home after marriage. The 1920 census shows 34.9 per cent of Negro married women gainfully employed; 12.1 per cent was the next highest figure for any group of appreciable size. This means that an unduly large number of Negro children are without the normal care given by mothers to their own children in other groups.

It follows that a large number of Negro children of preschool age must be taken care of during the day, and school children after school hours, while the mothers are at work. Although there are 148 day nurseries listed by the Council of Social Agencies for the city as a whole, only four colored day nurseries are found on the entire South Side. There are but two day nurseries within the Second Ward; the larger is the Olivet Baptist Church Day Nursery, accommodating fifty children; the other is Mount Carmel Welfare Institute, with a capacity of ten. There are no nurseries within the Third Ward, although the Wahnette Day Nursery, equipped to care for eighteen children, is located at a distance of three blocks from its boundaries.

¹ Illinois Department of Public Welfare, Children's Committee, *Report of the Subcommittee on Colored Children* (December, 1920), pp. 132, 133.

The only other colored day nursery is seven blocks south of the Third Ward. Within these two wards, then, but sixty children may be taken care of in day nurseries, and the combined capacity of all the South Side day nurseries for colored children is at present only ninety-one.

Insanitary housing conditions also may be in part responsible for the high Negro death-rate. In a recent report on housing conditions by the Department of Public Welfare of the City of Chicago the following statement is made:

"An almost complete cessation in the building of dwellings in Chicago extended over the greater part of the period when Negro migration was heaviest. As the most recent comers into the tenement districts of the city, Negroes and Mexicans have found shelter in the most used, most outworn and derelict housing which the city keeps."¹

This investigation found that "contrary to popular current opinion, the overcrowding among Negro households was of relatively infrequent occurrence, though instances were not lacking; as, for example, of eleven persons in three rooms and a closet; of thirteen in five or six rooms; or of ten in four rooms."

The degree of deterioration, however, and lack of conveniences for comfort and health could hardly be surpassed in these Negro dwelling houses. "About 1 per cent of the 1,526 homes visited could unhesitatingly be condemned as dwelling places on the lack of conveniences alone." Eleven per cent of the toilets provided in Negro houses were used by ten or more persons. One-third of all families visited had no toilets within their apartments, but were dependent upon toilets in public halls, on porches, in basements, in yards, or under the sidewalk. "The great bulk of tenants (85 per cent) were living in 'cold water' flats with nothing but stove heat. Many bathtubs were not used because there was nothing but a cold water tap in them. Hall, porch, and basement toilets outside apartments in these unheated flats were sometimes useless for long periods in cold weather because frozen."

In spite of such housing conditions the Negro tenants are paying

¹ E. A. Hughes, *Living Conditions for Small Wage-Earners in Chicago* (Department of Public Welfare, City of Chicago), p. 7.

comparatively high rents. "As a group, Negroes are paying much more for shelter than any other class in the community."

Outdoor recreation also is a recognized prerequisite of health. Urban life with its crowded living conditions and lack of yard space forces the city dweller to seek his fresh-air exercise in public parks and playgrounds. As the Playground and Recreation Association of America points out, "public playgrounds and recreation centers are providing a strong ally to the new science of illness prevention." To keep well, the individual must balance work and rest with sufficient outdoor play of a type adapted to his needs; at least a portion of the prevalent nervous disorders are ascribable to a lack of the mental relaxation gained from real recreation.

TABLE III*

Area	Estimated Population for 1925	Acres of Public Park Space	Average Population per Acre of Public Park Space
Chicago.....	2,964,875	5,912,260.0	507.4
Second Ward.....	60,611	15.1	4,019.2
Third Ward.....	63,298	9.6	6,559.3

* The *Chicago Daily News Almanac and Yearbook* (1926), pp. 894 and 905.

This need of her citizens for outdoor space is one which the city of Chicago has met admirably in her excellent system of parks. In the city as a whole, the average population to each acre of park area is 507.4. Yet within ward boundaries the population per acre of park space is very much greater in the case of the Second and Third wards.

Table III compares population per acre of park area for the city and these two wards.

Of the 15.1 acres in the Second Ward, 3.8 acres in Groveland Park and 3.8 acres in Woodlawn Park are not open to the public, since these are private parks. This leaves but 7.5 acres of parks and playgrounds in the Second Ward, or an average population to each acre of park space of 8,059.9. Thus the average resident of the Second Ward has, within ward boundaries, about one-fifteenth the park and playground space available to the average resident of Chicago. However, two of the city's largest parks, Jackson Park and Washington Park, are at no great distance from these two wards.

Nearly three years ago the South Park Commissioners went on record as promising that a portion of a bond issue would be used to establish a recreation park in this area. To date, January, 1927, nothing has been done, and the prospects of immediate accomplishment seem remote.

The public schools also may be made an active agency for the promotion of public health. The report of the Children's Committee of the Illinois Department of Public Welfare already referred to calls attention to the fact that in schools attended largely by Negroes "there is reason to believe that the general equipment is less ample than that generally provided for white children." Equipment for manual training and household arts, gymnasiums, baths, penny lunches, anemic divisions, and special instructors for speech defects are either limited or entirely absent from the schools of the Second and Third wards. The parent-teacher associations fail to function. The parents should be aroused to their responsibilities; the teachers should be sure that their attitudes invite co-operation.

At the Forestville School, in the Third Ward, beginning at about 7:30 in the morning and continuing until about noon, large numbers of children are to be seen buying breakfasts of ice cream, pickles, and "hot dogs" at the shops in the neighborhood. It would seem that a properly supervised school lunchroom would add much to the efficiency of this school and to the health of the neighborhood.

The Negro death-rate in Chicago is more than twice as high as the death-rate of the city's white population. In the preceding pages an effort has been made to call attention to environmental factors possibly contributory. It is, of course, true that a higher death-rate for Negroes as compared with white persons is to be found in other large cities both in the North and in the South. Table IV lists the death-rates for important cities in the North and South. It may be seen from this table that in every case the death-rate for the Negroes is considerably higher than that of the white population.

One essential feature of any program for lowering the Negro death-rate is undoubtedly an active public opinion. No effort to decrease the death and sickness rates for Negroes in Chicago can be successful in the face of an opposed or apathetic public opinion. The Negro must realize that it is his problem, and that to its solution he

must bring every force within him and every factor subject to his control. His home, his church, his lodge, his business organization must take a positive stand and an active interest. The white man must realize that disease knows no boundary lines, and that disease germs cannot be segregated and kept out of restricted neighborhoods. Chicago must realize that it spends, through loss of time in industry, through retardation in school, through decreased property values, many times the amount necessary to bring the Negro death-rate down to the city's average.

TABLE IV
DEATH-RATES OF FIVE NORTHERN AND SIX SOUTHERN CITIES, 1925*

CITIES	ESTIMATED POPULATION FOR 1925			DEATHS PER 1,000 POPULATION		
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro
Northern						
Chicago.....	2,995,239	2,832,239	160,000	11.5	10.8	22.5
Cleveland.....	936,485	886,485	50,000	10.4	9.6	23.5
Detroit.....	1,291,724	1,209,893	81,831	10.1	10.0	19.4
New York.....	5,877,354	5,709,469	159,305	12.2	11.8	25.7
Philadelphia.....	1,979,364	1,815,666	163,698	13.2	12.4	21.9
Southern						
Baltimore.....	796,296	678,365	117,931	14.6	12.8	24.0
Birmingham.....	205,670	124,962	80,708	17.0	12.6	23.8
Louisville.....	305,939	265,357	40,582	13.9	12.2	24.9
New Orleans.....	433,000	320,000	113,000	18.3	14.5	29.1
Richmond.....	186,404	131,130	55,274	14.7	11.9	21.1
Washington.....	497,906	378,261	119,645	14.1	11.4	22.7

* Compiled from data furnished by the Departments of Health of the cities listed.

The fear of the Negro that knowledge of his illness or of the illness in his home will cause him to lose his job must be combated. He must be taught to recognize its early stages and secure professional treatment for it. The fear of the white man that aid extended the Negro will develop a large parasitic growth must be given scientific examination.

In the case of civic organizations, timidity, rather than opposition, seems to be the rule. In many cases the fiction of public disapproval of a program is created in the mind of the official who voices that disapproval. Public opinion is shaped from above, downward; if the social forum, pulpit, press, and enlightened family circle unite in a demand that the health of the Negro be given the aid of the

things proved to be of value in promoting public health, then parks, playgrounds, schools, hospitals, day nurseries, infant welfare stations, and other agents of health will be provided.

Unless these agencies and activities are available to the average inhabitant of the Negro districts, it is premature to expect a worthwhile improvement from the Negroes' own efforts. The efforts of Negro and white leaders must be combined under a common leadership; it must be recognized that the problem is a municipal, and not merely a Negro, concern. The press, pulpit, and the forum must think of the Negro as a part of Chicago and must make a place for him in every purely civic program.

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ELIZABETH MCCORMICK MEMORIAL FUND
CHICAGO

NOTES ON PSYCHOTHERAPY¹

PSYCHOTHERAPY is an ample topic. It embraces all the therapeutic endeavors in the history of psychiatry. It includes topics as diverse as restraint, diet, medication, pedagogy, mental hygiene, psychoanalysis. The purpose of this discussion is not to consider in detail any special technic. It is much more general—that of outlining the recent developments in this field and of indicating in the fashion of the historian some possible future directions. My task is further limited to a consideration of psychiatric treatment as it is being formulated, especially in this country, and in relation to the mental-hygiene movement and the children's clinic.

For our point of orientation, let us take a sample clinic in the year 1920—that of the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research.

Healy, starting in 1908, had already broken ground for this work. By 1920, the group method of examination was already well developed. The case history was taken by the social worker; intelligence tests were performed by the psychologist, and the physical examination made by the physician. On the basis of the data accumulated from these sources, including special laboratory tests, mental tests, or special investigations if need be, besides his own mental examination, the psychiatrist diagnosed the difficulty and worked out a program of treatment. This program involved (as it still does) primarily the social worker and the psychiatrist.

Since the psychiatric social worker has become an integral part of the psychotherapeutic program, it is necessary to consider her development in this scheme. At first she acted as "steerer," bringing the child in weekly and bi-weekly, as required, for interview with the psychiatrist. As a result of these interviews, consultations were held with her and suggestions made for her further observations in the field. Her development was through "steerer" and recorder, objective observer, active therapeutic assistant, finally to the creation of certain independent therapeutic equipment.

¹ Notes for a lecture delivered at Yale University, December 16, 1926.

DEVELOPMENT OF TREATMENT PROCESSES BY THE PSYCHIATRIC
SOCIAL WORKER THROUGH HER RELATION
WITH THE PSYCHIATRIST

Let us consider these phases in the growth of the psychiatric social worker as part of the program of psychotherapy. From "steerer" she became liaison officer and trained observer.

1. *Observer*.—In this capacity her training was chiefly to enable her to make clinical observations as objective as possible for diagnostic and "check-up" value. The field was thereby lifted out of the subjective, sentimental phase of older days, in which her reactions were similar to those of the mother who presents her child's problems with various opinions and biases and who requires skilful questioning to get any direct statement. Related to this phase as trained observer are the use of graphs, frequency charts, standardization of neighborhoods, and general statistical portrayals.

2. *Liaison work*.—As liaison officer she developed a method of persuading parents and children to come to the clinic and to follow out the program of treatment. This is real clinical experience and is developing into a clinical technic of first importance in the handling of patients in the office and field.

3. *Special psychiatric training* naturally evolved out of the phases described in order to enable the worker to recognize psychotic manifestations and to know when to refer a patient to the psychiatrist. This has become a necessary part of her equipment.

4. *Knowledge of the community's resources* in the way of playgrounds, boys' clubs, scout organizations, special industrial training, etc., and the utilization of these resources, including other social-work agencies, grew in a natural way as part of the psychiatric social worker's more independent equipment; i.e., independent of her relationship with the psychiatrist. Out of this phase special clinical branches are being created; for example, the utilization of recreation as a diagnostic and therapeutic aid.

From these main trends we may follow the development of the psychiatric social worker in extramural psychiatry.

In the case primarily milieu, for example, where treatment is directed chiefly to a change in the attitude or method of parents toward children, the psychiatric social worker is developing a therapeutic technic. Part of this development follows from the fact that the

work of the psychiatrist must be continued in the field. Part of this development is born out of necessity—the scarcity of psychiatrists in the field. More and more responsibility of this type is placed in her hands, especially in private practice.

In this capacity she acts as mental hygienist as well as active therapist, the problem being delimited by the psychiatrist. Typical problems which are receiving such consideration include, for example, the study and treatment of “nagging” parents, of parents who over-discipline, of mothers who refuse to release their original relationship in infancy to the growing child, of parents who must be trained to accept the fact of their own or their child’s handicaps, of parents who are overambitious for their children, as well as such problems as the development of social initiative in the child who remains outside the play group or makes no friends, the training of intellectual honesty in the child, etc. All these problems are much better investigated in the home; are best demonstrated there and corrected there. They are fundamental problems in psychotherapy. Their recognition requires special training. Their treatment requires often special procedures. The psychiatric social worker is in the field and has the problem of formulating them.

As an example of this undertaking, consider the task of the psychiatric social worker in the high school at La Salle, Illinois. She is a member of the faculty and is called “educational counselor.” She interviews all students, takes the social and medical history, gets the list of complaints from teachers or parents, and has what amounts to a psychiatric interview with the student. She is able to recognize those difficulties which she cannot handle and which she therefore turns over to the psychiatrist. She utilizes psychotherapy within the limits already designated. Preferably, the determination of treatment methods should originally be made by the psychiatrist. Because of the lack of resources and of men, it is impossible to do this. The development of the “visiting teacher” is a similar process. The danger of overreaching is of course obvious, and has already created certain difficulties. The psychiatrists still have the task and the means of educating the psychiatric social worker in the boundaries of her domain.

For the same clinic in 1920, the treatment processes of the psychiatrist may be formulated as follows:

1. The psychiatrist utilized his personal influence on the patient, probably largely through the mechanism of transfer, i.e., the child or adult changed his behavior through the doctor's persuasion because the doctor was able through the personal relationship to make his suggestions acceptable to the patient (suggestive therapy). In other words, he knew how to make the patient like him and so accept his treatment. In the case, for example, of the egocentric child, the key to his method was to appeal to the boy's pride, to utilize the boy's own vanity on his behalf, to utilize primarily the patient's ego in all therapeutic endeavors (egocentric technic). So, as he gauged basic personality traits, he controlled his method of procedure.

2. Part of his therapy was primarily mental pedagogy. With brighter children, for example, he attempted to build up new attitudes, utilizing the patient's experiences as the basis for his educational scheme. This involved not only the problem of mental investigation at different age levels, but the ability to use the patient's language and constantly to check the understanding and utilization of his ideas.

3. He presented his findings to parent or educator and instructed them in their part of the regimen of treatment.

4. He attempted to unearth basic mental conflicts, utilizing the knowledge obtained through the psychoanalytic investigations, and attempted to use them by the methods already stated, using the direct-interview method.

5. He combined medical treatment and physical training where necessary with the psychiatric.

6. He utilized his findings for further direction of the psychiatric social worker to change certain methods of treatment, to put greater emphasis on certain relationships, etc.

Recent years have also marked definite trends in the development of treatment processes by the psychiatrist, and these may be indicated as follows:

1. *The use of psychoanalytic technic especially for the children in whom the difficulty is primarily within the child (mental conflict).*—This method is in marked contrast with the direct interview, in which the psychiatrist plays a very active rôle in the technic. Consider, for example, the method of finding the "significant discrepancies" between the child's own and the child's ideals of behavior. In

this method there is much questioning, explaining, elaborating, etc., in order actively to stimulate and educate the child to an understanding of his difficulty. In comparison, the analytic method in children is relatively passive. While this topic cannot be fully considered here, it may be well to call attention merely to a few points in contrast between adult and child technic.

Special problems arise in the investigation of experience, in the utilization of transfer and resistance, in the time span, in often starting with active and passing into "passive therapy" and when necessary the co-operative functioning of the psychiatric social worker in the end stages.

The points enumerated are based on the following facts: The child, unlike the adult, may have no complaints and no wish to be cured. He sometimes resents being on a couch as a form of punishment. He is often too distractible for a session as long as forty or fifty minutes. Even in transfer he has special difficulties in relating experiences because of limited vocabulary and power of expression. There is no reason, from his point of view, once he is in state of transfer and regards the psychiatrist as father, to break it (as there is in the adult). At this stage it may be necessary to utilize the psychiatric social worker as liaison officer between psychiatrist and patient.

2. *Further development of the technic of the direct interview.*—This involves among other things an elaboration of the significant discrepancies between the given case and the known "norm of behavior," utilizing for the purpose a list of situations out of which it has been found out from clinical experience that difficulties are most likely to arise. For example: A boy is an only child. On the basis of that fact alone, he looks for and tries to circumvent, if present, excessive maternal care, excessive filial response, etc. Again, through a study of typical imagery during masturbation it is found that an adolescent high-school boy of fifteen images high-school boys. This fact alone is to be a guide to further investigation and treatment of early overt homosexual tendencies. Each social situation gives the clue for early symptoms of maladjustment and receives the same type of alert examination as does the physical symptom in relation to medical diagnosis.

3. *The conditioned response.*—This is (through Pavlov) Watson's contribution to psychotherapy, utilized at present primarily for the

infant and the young child. In therapy it presents a contrast between specialized habit responses and "total personality reactions." In the type of treatment already considered we deal with the individual as an integrated personality reacting within a given situation. In our conditioned-response studies we deal originally with a localized form of response. Take, for example, a child of three who runs recklessly in front of automobiles with apparently no fear and no response to previous consistent training in the form of punishment, scolding, or persuasion. The child was tested by the two primary stimuli for fear. Placed on a high platform she displayed no fear. This had been previously noted in such antics as standing on the top of the backs of chairs, etc. To a sudden noise, the bursting of a toy balloon, she responded normally with fright and crying. She was "cured" in four trials by bursting balloons while being held at the curb during her attempt to cross the street. A study of the family revealed a number of difficulties aside from the problem presented, though the latter was apparently not a "total personality" reaction. A number of the habit problems of infancy may be conditioned responses built out of the feeding act; for example, tongue- and finger-sucking, ear-pulling, palm-rotating, etc., and all acts probably concurrent with breast- and bottle-feeding, later "independent responses." An entirely new field allied to psychotherapy is opened up. The danger of overlocalizing the problem must be stressed because, in this as in other forms of treatment, the method selected must follow from the complete psychiatric study.

Medical and especially endocrinologic therapy cannot be considered here. Hypnosis is being utilized in certain problems of children, especially in Europe. We have little experience with this method with children in the United States.

We have seen how through their particular types of training and through certain exigencies psychiatrist and psychiatric social worker have taken certain directions in psychotherapy. In the main it may be said that under the guidance of the psychiatrist, the psychiatric social worker is developing a type of extramural psychiatry, and on the basis of specialized experience certain independent therapies primarily in the milieu.

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FRONTIERS OF CONTROL IN PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

THE PUBLIC services needed in behalf of the destitute, insane, feeble-minded, aged, and infirm, and of orphan and neglected children were, a century ago, still largely in the hands of local administrative authorities.

In the American states, as in England, these classes were cared for by a single local authority and, so far as their care had been institutionalized, in a single local institution, the poorhouse, poor farm, or almshouse. Gradually with the development of specialized care for some of these groups of public dependents, there has been a transfer of functions from the local administrative units to central authorities.

The present is a transition period, and the division of functions between state and local authorities varies from state to state. In no state, however, is there a clear-cut and logical division of powers. It has been said that the English poor law is the basis of all our public social work. Warner, for example, wrote as follows:

In each commonwealth the fabric of the public charitable institutions rests upon the quicksands of the poor-law, which few study and probably none understands. It was said of the English poor-law, by the commission appointed to investigate its working, that there was scarcely one statute connected with the administration of poor-relief which had produced the effect designed by the legislature, and that the majority of them had created new evils and aggravated those which they were intended to prevent. The same is substantially true in many of our own States, and especially in the older commonwealths, such as New York and Pennsylvania, where the legislatures have not been careful to repeal existing legislation when enacting new laws. The result is a tangle of statutes which cannot be rationally interpreted because they have no rational basis. The courts construe them from time to time, because they must, and not because they know how.¹

The essential features of the poor law were those characteristic of local administration; but the pressure toward developing agencies for treatment as wide in their operation as are the sources of the

¹ Amos G. Warner, *American Charities: A Study in Philanthropy and Economics*, p. 311.

distress to be relieved is unceasing, and the growth of state institutions and the appeal for federal aid were early expressions of that tendency.

The development in the states has taken the form of (1) the multiplication of state institutions intended each to deal with a special group; (2) the creation of a central supervisory authority; (3) the substitution of control for supervision, the control varying in scope and in the details of its authority but directed toward (a) economy in purchasing and (b) efficiency in the organization of standards of care in the treatment of the various groups commonly known as the "wards of the state."

In substantially every state¹ there is some provision for meeting these needs, but in no two states are the agencies alike; and the great variety and lack of uniformity of treatment, even when the demand for treatment calls for equality in the use of public resources, causes every suggestion of possible federal intervention to have a very great interest for the student of welfare problems. The federal government has from the beginning of course supplied certain information and has been responsible for welfare activities in the area for which it was the direct governmental authority,² and the publications of the United States Children's Bureau, of the Public Health Service, of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, of the Bureau of Education, contribute to an understanding of problems analogous to those of public welfare. The United States Children's Bureau is in fact within the scope universally assigned to "welfare" as to the old authorities in "charities" and "corrections," and the direct aid of the federal government was sought and obtained in connection with the development of institutions for the deaf³ in Hartford, Connecticut,

¹ There are only three states, Mississippi, Nevada, and Utah, in which no central supervisory agency has been set up.

² *Benevolent Institutions, 1910; Summary of State Laws Relating to the Dependent Classes, 1913; Statistical Directory of State Institutions for the Defective, Dependent and Delinquent Classes; Paupers in Almshouses, 1923*, are illustrations of the material made available by the Bureau of the Census.

³ *Annals of Congress*, Fifteenth Congress, second session (1818-19), II, 1427; *ibid.*, Eighteenth Congress, first session (1823-24), II, 2542. Attention should be called to the fact that these were called and were in fact "schools," and that both were recognized as performing a regional rather than a state or local service. That is, children were sent from widely distant points to these institutions.

and in Danville, Kentucky. To the noble appeal made for federal aid by Dorothea Dix,¹ of which portions are reproduced elsewhere in this *Review*, on the ground that the nation was concerned in the performance of a nation-wide service to which the resources of the state were proving wholly inadequate, Congress replied in the affirmative. The president, however, by his veto² frustrated that great effort, declaring, first, that the federal government lacked the power to assume these responsibilities and, second, that the policy was an unwise policy which would turn the states into paupers, dependent on the bounty of the nation.

Since that time, there has been universal acquiescence in the view that the problems of destitution, mental deficiency, child care, and correctional organization are for the state and not for the federal government. However, the question of a part to be played by the federal government has not been ignored. There is the function of collecting and publishing information on this as on other subjects of universal interest, and in 1901 a committee of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, now the National Conference of Social Work, proposed³ the creation in the federal service of a Bureau of Charities, to do in the field of welfare what the Bureau of Agriculture, created in 1862, the Bureau of Education, created in 1867, and the Bureau of Labor, created in 1884, were doing in their respective fields of interest. That step has, however, never been taken, nor any other raising the question of federal power in this field until the enactment of the so-called "Infancy and Maternity bill,"⁴ which provides for co-operation between the federal government and the states in the promotion of the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy, especially by conference, consultation, approval of plans, and sharing the cost.⁵

¹ See pp. 117-37 of this *Review*.

² Franklin Pierce, *Congressional Globe*, Thirty-third Congress, first session (May 3, 1854), pp. 1061-63.

³ *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction at the Twenty-eighth Annual Session* (Washington, D.C., 1901), p. 112.

⁴ November 23, 1921, 42 U.S. Statutes 224. See also *U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 146, The Promotion of the Welfare and Hygiene of Maternity and Infancy*.

⁵ The question of the constitutionality of this act was brought before the court in an action in which the court refused to take jurisdiction on the ground that no justiciable issue was presented. See *Massachusetts vs. Mellon*, 262 U.S. 488.

In the absence of federal action the development in the states becomes of great importance, and may perhaps be looked upon as beginning in 1863, when, following the recommendation of a special legislative committee,¹ a supervisory board was set up in Massachusetts;² since then, under more or less similar circumstances, similar action has been taken in forty-four other states. These central authorities, while differing in many respects each from all the others, have uniformly found their duties grouped into four great classes: (1) those relating to the administration of the state institutions; (2) those related to the services still remaining in the care of the local (county, town, or city) authorities; (3) those related to the private charitable agency; and (4) those involved in educating the general public, extending a knowledge of the field, and, especially in connection with proposed expansion of the work, conducting investigations, urging bond issues, and advising interested private civic and professional groups.

A complete view of the public-welfare organization would include the older local institutions and agencies, such as the almshouse, the provision for outdoor relief, the county jail, and, in a relatively few states, the newer county organization for public health and child welfare work;³ the specialized state institutions; and the central charitable or welfare authority. Among the county authorities there is, however, such great diversity in organization, structure, efficiency, and in the relation to the central authority that no attempt is made to deal with this subject here. The county is, in fact, described as still "the dark continent of our public life."⁴

The relationship of the central authority to the private charitable institution or agency cannot be discussed here.⁵ In the following pages, attention will be called briefly to the development especially in relation to the state institutions and agencies.

¹ In 1858, *Massachusetts Senate Document No. 63*, 1858.

² *Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts*, 1863, chap. 240.

³ See *U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 107, County Organization for Child Care and Protection* (Washington, D.C., 1922).

⁴ L. D. White, *Public Administration* (Macmillan, 1926), p. 468.

⁵ Attention may be called to the discussion of this subject in the *Fifty-ninth Annual Report of the New York State Board of Charities* (1926), p. 5, and to Emil Frankel, *State-Aided Hospitals in Pennsylvania*, *Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare Bull.* 25 (1925).

A few words should be said as to the form of organization characteristic first of the institution and then of the central authority.

The institution was almost universally placed under the management of a board of trustees so appointed that the membership would never be renewed all at once. The members were unsalaried, being reimbursed for their expenses and sometimes paid a small per diem. They selected the staff and maintained supervisory and visitorial relationships with the institution, reported to the governor or legislature, and were in general supposed to interpret the institution to the community, make known its needs, and influence the state administration in its behalf.

The central authority, prior to 1917, was called a "board" in all except two of the states.¹ Only rarely were special qualifications laid down. Generally, the members of these boards were supposed to be persons of public spirit and intelligence, with sufficient leisure to enable them to give time to the meetings of the board and the visitation of the institutions, and, perhaps most important, to have influence with the legislature and to be able to take a comprehensive, state-wide view of the situation.²

As has been suggested, the problems of institutional organization were complicated and difficult. The expenditures for the maintenance of these groups took a very large place in the cost of state government; the employees in the institutions made up a considerable proportion of the civil service; opportunities for partisan abuse of the state's resources were frequently taken advantage of; and the abuse of the service was facilitated by the genuine difficulty growing out of lack of professional standards in these special fields of service. Who could say with final authority whether the Wisconsin plan for county care of the chronic insane or the New York plan of exclusive state care contributed most to the reduction in suffering and to the lightening of the taxpayer's burdens? And, confronted by such a situation as the New York board faced in the great number of dependent

¹ New Jersey and Oklahoma had a single official, a commissioner.

² In New York the members were selected from the judicial districts (*Laws of New York*, 1867, chap. 951, sec. 1). In Connecticut there were to be "two ladies" on the board (*Laws*, 1873, chap. 45). In Pennsylvania a lawyer of five years' experience and a doctor of ten years' practice were required for special service on the Committee on Lunacy (*Laws of Pennsylvania*, 1883, No. 18).

children in almshouses, it was quite impossible to be dogmatic as between home-placing and subsidized institutional care for the children. In the field of prison industry, today, there are many questions to which no categorical reply can be made.

The point is that under the most favorable conditions institutional administration was very difficult. The very large amounts of goods to be bought, the valuable interests at stake in the selection of sites, the opportunities for partisan interference in the selection of the personnel, and the isolated character of state action gave rise to a great variety in organization and to many controversial questions to which no final answer can be given.

Among these questions were: (1) the relative economy and efficiency of an organization retaining the services of the unsalaried boards of trustees of the state institutions as compared with the centralization of institutional management in a single salaried authority—this is the old controversy of “supervision” as over against “control”; (2) the relative efficiency of the single-headed, departmentalized organization as compared with the board; (3) the desirable scope and range of the authority to be set up. This is the question of the relative advantage of assigning to one department all the services relating to the disadvantaged groups as compared with an assignment of each group to a separate department. That is, should one department, as in Illinois, attempt to deal with the destitute, the delinquent, the insane, the feeble-minded, the blind and deaf, and the problems of child welfare, or should there be, as in Massachusetts, a number of different departments to deal with these groups? (4) What arrangements can be developed for co-operation among the departments? For example, what relations of control should exist between each of the other departments and the financial department? And what devices can be relied on for co-operation between welfare and education, corrections and mental diseases, labor, or health? These are subjects on which it is impossible to be dogmatic.

If the annual reports of the departments in the various states could for a brief period contain material supplying evidence upon these points, there would be a basis of fact for definite replies to these questions. Those reports are, however, published by the states for

different periods, some being annual, some biennial, and for fiscal years beginning and ending at different dates. It is therefore not surprising that there should be a continuing disagreement and uncertainty on many of these questions.

On the subject of the relative effectiveness of the administration by trustees of separate institutions as compared with the single central board of control, one conspicuous attempt at comparison was made in 1909 by Mr. Henry C. Wright, of the New York State Charities Aid Association.¹ He compared the results of the different departments in which there were different kinds and degrees of control—charities, lunacy, and prisons in New York State—and the results of the work in New York with those in Indiana, where there was only supervision, and in Iowa, where the trustees had been abolished and there was closely knit central administration. His conclusion was that so far as economy could be judged by low prices of goods and skilful purchasing, an institution with an inmate population of 400 or over could ordinarily secure as low prices as could a central body with power to contract for large quantities; and that superintendents and stewards and boards of managers exercise as discriminating judgment in selecting and contracting for supplies as is exercised by central bodies.

However, the Illinois Committee on Efficiency and Economy in 1915 concluded that the substitution of a central board of administration for the boards of trustees of the charitable institutions had justified itself, and recommended that the same steps be taken in the reorganization of the prisons of the state.² That is, they proposed the creation of a separate commission of three members for the management and control of the three penal institutions and also urged that they be subjected to the "visitorial, inspectional, and investigational jurisdiction of the State Charities Commission."

It was only in 1917, when, under Governor Lowden's leadership, the state administration of Illinois was "codified" or departmentalized, and the authorities were grouped under nine departments,³ that

¹ *Fiscal Control of State Institutions, New York State Charities Aid Publication No. 122* (1909).

² *Report of the Efficiency and Economy Committee*, 1915, p. 398.

³ Two have since been added to this number. See *Illinois Laws* (1925), p. 585.

the issue between the board and the single executive was brought to the front.

Two problems have since that time especially engaged the attention of students of this division of the government. One of them is that of assuring to the executive in the department the advice and counsel of qualified persons; the other is that of obtaining supervision of the entire welfare organization by a qualified impartial authority.¹

The Massachusetts and New Jersey acts will serve to illustrate the attempt at providing an advisory agency. The New Jersey act reads:²

There is hereby created the Department of Charities and Corrections, which shall consist of the State Board of Charities and Corrections and the Commissioner of Charities and Corrections.³ The State Board shall be composed of eight residents of this state, of whom at least one shall be a woman. . . . The commissioner shall be appointed by the State Board. . . . The commissioner shall be the chief executive and administrative officer of the State Board and its official agent for all purposes. . . . The State Board shall appoint for each of the institutions or noninstitutional agencies . . . a board of managers. . . . Subject to the supervision, control, and ultimate authority of the State Board, the management . . . of the institutions and . . . agencies shall be vested in the several boards of managers.

In the Massachusetts act⁴ it is provided that the Department "shall be under the supervision and control of a commissioner of Public Welfare who shall be its executive and administrative head and an advisory board consisting of the commissioner, ex officio, and six appointive members of whom two shall be women." Both the commissioner and the members of the board are appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the council.⁵ It is clear that

¹ Besides Illinois, California, Colorado, Idaho, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Washington have departmentalized their authorities in the field of welfare, whether or not they have undertaken a codification of their administrative statutes.

² *Acts* (1918), chap. 147, sec. 101.

³ In the act of 1918 the Department was known as "Charities and Corrections." This was changed the following year to "Institutions and Agencies."

⁴ *General Acts of Massachusetts* (1919), chap. 350, sec. 87.

⁵ *Ibid.*, sec. 88.

those who drafted these acts and the act of Michigan in 1921¹ and New York in 1926² lay stress on the quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial functions exercised by the department and are unwilling to lodge in one individual such wide discretion and such great power as is exercised by the welfare staff. The advisory board is therefore retained in addition to the executive head.

In the matter of supervision the situation is different. In the Illinois act of 1917 an attempt was made to retain a true supervisory agency in the Board of Welfare Commissioners, composed of five members whose duties were defined as follows:

SECTION 54. The board of public welfare commissioners shall, in addition to the power vested by this Act in advisory and non-executive boards, have power, and it shall be its duty:

1. To investigate into the condition and management of the whole system of charitable, penal and reformatory institutions of the State, including State hospitals, penitentiaries, reformatories, jails and almshouses;

2. To investigate, when directed by the Governor, into any or all phases of the equipment, management or policy of any State charitable, penal or reformatory institution, and report its findings and recommendations to the Governor;

3. To inquire into the equipment, management and policies of all institutions and organizations coming under the supervision and inspection of the Department of Public Welfare;

4. To collect and publish annually statistics relating to insanity and crime.

These commissioners, like the director of the department, were to be appointed by the governor. They are, however, in the department; the director recommends the budget, and, as a matter of fact, between 1919 and 1925 no provision³ for the Commission was made in the appropriation act for the board; and neither the employees provided for in the acts of those two years nor the personnel of any complete board is published in the report of the director.

It is obvious that while supervision may be a device of effective

¹ *Laws of Michigan* (1921), Act No. 163; *Compiled Statutes of Nebraska* (1922), Part III, p. 2249; see also the *Nebraska Constitution*, Art IV, sec. 19.

² *Laws of New York* (1926), pp. 1198-99.

³ The appropriation provides for an executive secretary, two inspectors, traveling and other expenses, etc. (Illinois, *Laws*, 1919, p. 190). Only one name, that of Judge Perry L. Persons, is given in the (*Report of the Department*, 1923, p. 5) as making up the Board.

control within a system, no agency or authority is going to supervise its own work in any truly effective way. With the acceptance, then, of the department scheme of organizing the work, the function of supervising in the sense in which it was used in the earlier debates on *supervision* versus *control* has disappeared.

Whether or not this should be deplored may be a question. It may be argued that the services to these disadvantaged groups has now been sufficiently professionalized and standardized to make it safe to leave their care to authorities organized after the ordinary methods. In Ohio and Pennsylvania there are neither advisory nor supervisory boards. In Ohio the commissioner himself and others with him have, however, urged a return to the form of organization prevailing between 1910 and 1920, when there was a State Board of Administration and a Board of Supervision as well.¹ On this subject, for example, Professor Hagerty writes:

In most lines of governmental activity, doubtless much good has been accomplished in gathering together widely scattered functions and placing them where they belong in relatively few departments and giving some one the definite responsibility of accomplishing results.

This theory breaks down, however, when we assume that the people in general have the capacity to distinguish between superior, less efficient, and even very inferior results in the management of public welfare institutions, in such matters as probation and parole, or child-placing, especially when political parties are actively engaged in misrepresenting the facts or clouding the issues.²

And the Ohio Public Health Association has urged the creation of a non-salaried, non-partisan board of public welfare, composed of seven persons, one going out each year, appointed by the governor, to determine policies and to appoint an executive who should be responsible for the administration of the department.³

Or if one turns to the Rocky Mountain and Pacific regions, these questions have received no more positive replies than in the areas of the East and Middle West. In Colorado, for example, a supervisory board created in 1891 was in 1923⁴ with slight discussion

¹ *Report of the Department of Public Welfare* (1923), pp. 9-13.

² *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* (1922), p. 446.

³ Quoted, L. D. White, *Public Administration*, p. 144.

⁴ *Laws of Colorado* (1923), chap. 169. A similar ostensible departmentalization was effected in the name of economy in California; see *Laws of California* (1925), chap. 18.

changed into a department, consisting only of a secretary, whose work was terminated in 1925 by the governor's veto of the item in the appropriation providing for her salary.

Another question on which there are wide differences of opinion and of arrangement is that of the scope and range of the authority, that is, the number of groups of persons to be helped, and the varieties in the kinds of distress and need to be dealt with.

It is always understood that the relief of the destitute, including certain forms of child-care and child-welfare work, will be included in the welfare department; and that is substantially the scope of the department's responsibility in Massachusetts.¹ In that department, there are three divisions, "Aid and Relief," "Child Guardianship," and "Juvenile Training." It will be recalled, however, that under the Massachusetts plan there are separate departments of mental diseases and of correction.² In the same way, in the constitutional amendment adopted by the people of New York in 1925, provision is made for three similar separate departments. This is in accordance with the view generally held and urged by the representatives of the New York State Charities Aid Association. In 1915, in anticipation of the Constitutional Convention of that year, Mr. Homer Folks, secretary of that Society, said:

The ever recurring question in relation to constitutional provision is, what shall be put into the constitution and what shall be left to the legislature? This involves the question as to whether, on the whole, state administration tends to be too flexible or too inflexible. Things put into the constitution become inflexible. A close study of the operation of certain administrative agencies of the state for a period of over twenty years leads me to feel that the greater danger is that of inflexibility, inelasticity and tradition, rather than their opposites. Although the legislature at any time during the past twenty years could have re-organized the state commission in lunacy or the state board of charities, changing them from a paid to an unpaid body or from a small board to a large board, it has not done so in either case. Both of these organs of government, in fact, have had a continuous history since their original establishment. In general, therefore, I should be inclined to say, whenever in doubt as to the wisdom of making a given matter permanent, leave it to the legislature.³

¹ *General Acts of Massachusetts* (1919), chap. 350, sec. 87.

² *Ibid.*, sec. 1 and secs. 79-85.

³ Folks, "Charitable and Correctional Institutions and Public Health," *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science in the City of New York*, V (1914-15), 447.

However, the Commission on State Administration and Expenditures reporting in 1922 to the Massachusetts legislature¹ recommended the consolidation of the departments of mental diseases, welfare, corrections, and certain institutional functions assigned by the act of 1919 to the Department of Health. And it will be recalled that by the Illinois act of 1917, contrary to the recommendations of the Committee on Efficiency and Economy,² the code assigned to one department the problems of destitution, mental diseases, corrections, and child welfare.

In connection with this question of the scope of the work assigned to a department two problems arise. One is that of securing co-operation between departments when the work of both is found to be necessary to the accomplishment of a given purpose. An interesting illustration of such co-operation is found in the Massachusetts act requiring certain accused persons who are under the care of correctional officials to be subjected to psychiatric examination under the direction of the Department of Mental Diseases.³ In other words, harmonious co-operation between the departments of corrections and of mental diseases is regarded as essential to the right treatment of persons accused of criminal conduct. The question may be raised as to the possibly greater administrative simplicity if both services were under one head. In the same way, the possible danger inherent in a situation in which one department is dependent on another for services on which its own work depends is obvious. Mr. Henry C. Wright points out the danger to the Illinois Department of Public Welfare because of its dependence both on the Department of Finance and on the Department of Public Works.⁴

The question of co-operation or of friction between the departments in different states when both are concerned in the same problem is one that has given rise to interesting situations. Massachusetts and New York, for example, took diametrically opposite views as to their respective obligation to non-resident persons be-

¹ *House Document 800* (Massachusetts General Court, 1922), pp. 12, 25-27, 47-48, 51, 53.

² See above, p. 90.

³ *Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts* (1924), chap. 309.

⁴ Wright, *One Man Power*.

coming destitute within their respective jurisdictions. In the face of such an *impasse*, agreement had to be formed in conference.¹ At an earlier date it was not uncommon for one state to make use of the institutional resources of another,² and the National Committee on Prison Labor³ has been engaged in the attempt to develop what might be described as regional co-operation to solve the problem of prison industry.

So far, the discussion has had to do chiefly with welfare authorities as organized for treatment.

The same kinds of questions arise, however, in connection with the more strictly institutional aspects of the problem.

There have been three lines of development, all of great concern to those interested in the development of welfare activities. These were: the movement toward the setting up of specialized purchasing agencies; the provision for better personnel selection, either after the merit system of the civil service or by classification with fixing of responsibility; and the budget movement.

Centralized purchasing agencies have in fact been set up in twenty-seven states.⁴ But here, too, there are uncertainty and vacillation. In Utah, for example, the legislature created in 1921 a Department of Finance and Purchasing,⁵ appropriating \$45,000 for the use of the Department. In 1925 the Department reported that there had been saved to the state through its activities approximately \$400,000 in a two-year period, while the expenditures of the Department had been during its first biennium \$45,000⁶; during the second, not more than \$34,000. However, the legislature of 1925 refused to continue the work of the Department and made no appropriation for this part of its activities.

¹ *Thirteenth Annual Report of the State Board of Charities of the State of New York* (February 5, 1880), pp. 41-43; *First Annual Report of the State Board of Health, Lunacy and Charity of Massachusetts* (1880), pp. 1-liv.

² See *First Report and Second Report of Oklahoma Commissioner of Charities and Correction* (1908), p. 9; (1909), p. 8; see also *Report of Trustees of Kansas State Prison* (1910), p. 10, in reference to the Kansas treatment of Oklahoma prisoners.

³ The office of this Committee is at 4 West Fifty-seventh Street, New York City.

⁴ See *American Political Science Review*, XIX (1925), 73.

⁵ *Laws of 1921*, chap. 127.

⁶ *Second Biennial Report of Department of Finance and Purchasing of Utah*, pp. 3-5.

Another interesting illustration of the uncertainty and confusion prevailing in the discussions of these topics is found in the report of the so-called "Bright Committee" reporting in New Jersey in 1925.¹

The organization in New Jersey has many points of interest for the student. Prior to 1918, New Jersey was one of the two states having a single executive, a commissioner.² In 1918 the legislature created³ a department of Charities and Corrections, consisting of a state board and a commissioner, retaining trustees of separate institutions and providing for experts who should be at the service of the various institutions and agencies.⁴ The organization and administration of this department has been in the hands of persons widely respected in the field of public welfare, and its attack on the problems of state-wide organization, of the economical use of the expert, on the problem of prison industry and developing the so-called "state use" plan—all these efforts have created a wide interest in the work of the department. However, in 1925 a legislative committee was appointed to study the work of the department and found that the administration was more costly than they thought necessary or fit. It found the cost "greater than elsewhere" and greater in 1925 than in 1917. It found too many persons in institutions; too large a share of the care of dependent children borne by the state as compared with the share borne by the county.⁵ The interesting features, however, about this report are (1) that no recommendation⁶ is made on the basis of which there can be any reduction

¹ *Reports of the Joint Legislative Survey Committee of New Jersey* (Trenton, 1925).

² The office of commissioner was first created in New Jersey in 1905. The other state with a commissioner prior to 1917 was Oklahoma.

³ *Laws of 1918*, chap. 147. The name was changed in 1919 to "Department of Institutions and Agencies."

⁴ It is interesting to note that the New Jersey plan, except for the appointment of the trustees by the board instead of by the governor, corresponds quite closely to the plan outlined as probably desirable by Mr. Henry C. Wright after his fiscal study in 1909 referred to above (see p. 90).

⁵ This committee was, for example, shocked at the use of butter instead of margarine even in the homes for veterans.

⁶ Except that suggesting that margarine be substituted for butter in the diet of veterans.

in cost without returning to a lower standard of service,¹ and every definite recommendation formulated by the committee would, if carried out, involve the department in either an increased personnel or an increased cost for a higher grade of service. The other interesting feature is that the legislature paid no attention to the report, and the department, which has passed into other hands, treats it as of no importance.

It is hardly possible to discuss briefly the problems of civil service and classification of public personnel. At the National Conference of Social Work in Toronto in 1924 the presidential address was largely devoted to this subject. There are civil service laws in only ten states, and in some of those the administration is such as to render them a travesty not only on the poor and helpless but on the entire citizenship of the state. In the federal service and in some of the states much effort is being put into making the civil service administration an agency not so much for keeping the rascals out as for securing the most fit persons for the work to be done. This will require very wide co-operation on the part of unpaid interested persons, and the effective use by the civil service of the highest skill in the various professions in the framing of tests, conducting examinations, and especially in developing the interview for use in such selections.²

So far, no attempt has been made to estimate the number of persons affected or the cost to the taxpayer of these various services.

So far as numbers are concerned, the Census Bureau reports that on or about January 1, 1923, there were 893,679 persons assembled in the institutions usually referred to as "welfare institutions," public and private. The cost is estimated as approximately \$153,600,000, or 12 per cent of the total cost for state government. It is estimated that this cost is 11 per cent greater than in 1913, while the costs of education and of highways have increased by a much larger proportion than welfare costs.³ In a situation involving such a

¹ As by paroling more prisoners or patients in the hospitals or leaving longer responsibility on the county for the costs of child care.

² See *Journal of Public Administration*, I (1923), 343. See also *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction* (1898), pp. 240, 256.

³ See the "Census of Wealth and Taxation"; *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CXIII, 8; *National Municipal Review*, XIII, 461.

burden for the taxpayer, fraught with such danger for the helpless and inarticulate groups under care, and involving the right of every citizen to be assured that the standard of care and of expenditures for which as taxpayer he is responsible is not below the standard set by modern humane and civilized communities, the possibility suggests itself of developing on a national scale the services which have proven reasonably effective on a state-wide scale and which could be enormously stimulated and assisted by the service of a national authority. The fundamental service is, of course, that of securing uniform accurate comparable records, intelligently analyzed and made use of to stimulate those states whose standards are especially low. None of the proposals for the creation of a national department of public welfare contemplates any service of this kind. It is, however, clear that until such records and reports are available and until an agency exists equipped to stimulate, to inform, to direct, and to guide a national program on the basis of a national body of fact analyzed with a national purpose in view, the American public-welfare administration must remain chaotic, fragmentary, uneven, and inadequate, possessing neither of those features to which it is entitled by its public character, namely, comprehensiveness and continuity. And nothing less than continuous, comprehensive, and progressive service in this field can be satisfactory to those who compose the professional group in social service.

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THE WORK OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

THE increasing importance of the Social Science Research Council makes a review of its work during the past year of interest to social workers. The Council, which was organized three years ago, is a body of twenty-one members representing the seven national organizations in the United States chiefly interested in social research, namely: the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, the American Statistical Association, the American Psychological Association, the American Anthropological Association, the American Historical Association. Each of these organizations, through its appropriate agency, appoints three representatives for a term of three years, one each year.

These groups, according to the President of the Council,¹

were brought together by a common feeling that close co-operation in dealing with related or overlapping problems was eminently desirable. The policies of the Council have become clearer with the experience of three years of trial and error. Broadly stated, these purposes are to bring together scattered or isolated workers upon similar social problems; to avoid needless duplication of effort; to foster the co-operation of research workers; to stimulate and encourage research in important fields not now covered; to emphasize the development of increasingly scientific methods of inquiry in social studies, and occasionally to undertake research directly through its own committees; to aid in the process of developing scientific social control, and, where that is not possible, more intelligent and constructive theory about the processes involved in social relations.

The work of the Council is carried on through a series of committees. These include, in addition to the Executive Committee, the following:

The Committee on Problems and Policy, with a series of advisory committees.

The Committee on Fellowships.

¹ Professor Charles E. Merriam, to whom we are indebted for the material in this brief review of the Council's activities and interests.

The Committee on Scientific Aspects of Human Migration.

The Committee on Scientific Method in the Social Sciences.

The Committee on Social Science Abstracts.

The Committee on Publication of an Index and Digest of State Legislation.

The Council appointed this year nineteen research fellows out of a total of 103 applicants.

Among the appointments of special interest to social workers are the following:

Norman E. Himes (M.A., Harvard), instructor in economics and sociology, Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa. Project: The history of the birth-control movement in England with special reference to the development and work of the birth-control clinics.

Austin F. Macdonald (Ph.D., Pennsylvania), associate professor of political science, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Project: A comprehensive field study of the grants made by the federal government to the states.

Geroid Tanquary Robinson (M.A., Columbia), instructor in history, Columbia University, New York, New York. Project: The peasant movement in the first phase of the Russian Revolution (March–November, 1917).

Herbert Wallace Schneider (Ph.D., Columbia), assistant professor of philosophy, Columbia University, New York, New York. Project: A study of the growth of the political theories of the Fascisti in Italy, with special reference to their motivation in particular social groups and problems.

Marcus Lee Hansen (Ph.D., Harvard), assistant professor of history, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts. Project: A basic study of the origins of the foreign elements in the settlement of the upper Mississippi Valley.

Sterling D. Spero (Ph.D., Columbia), Fellow, New School for Social Research, New York, New York. Project: The position of the Negro in industry.

The statement of the Council regarding these fellowships is of special interest:

Broadly speaking, the purpose of these fellowships is the development of available personnel for the prosecution of studies in the field of social research.

From the character of the reports of the fellows it is clear that substantial progress is being made in this direction.

These fellowships are, of course, in no way competitive with ordinary university fellowships, but are designed for more mature persons of post-doctorate type or of equivalent intellectual maturity. They correspond roughly to the fellowships awarded by the National Research Council in the field of natural science.

These fellowships are not limited in time and are adequate in amount, and therefore afford unusual opportunity for special research on the part of men otherwise overburdened with other duties, and it is hoped that there may be more general appreciation of the possibilities offered to students of the social sciences.

The report of the chairman of the Council, which will be published in the near future, will review the work of the various committees. The most important of the committees, that on Problems and Policy, works through a series of advisory committees dealing with the following subjects: corporate relations, crime, grants-in-aid, cultural areas, industrial relations, international relations, inter-racial relations, pioneer belts, and social and economic research in agriculture.

A committee on alcoholism made a preliminary survey last year of data available for a comprehensive inquiry into the workings of the Eighteenth Amendment, and the Council now has in hand a plan for such an inquiry on which it is hoped work may begin in 1927-28.

A summer conference at Hanover, New Hampshire, held in two successive years, in 1925 and in 1926, was so successful that it promises to be an annual feature of the Council's work. In August, 1926, all the Council's committees were brought together with others interested in special committee problems. The president of the Council says of the Hanover Conference:

In the opinion of practically all those in attendance, no device has proved so effective in bringing about significant contacts, personal and scientific, as this conference held under such unusually favorable circumstances. . . .

The Dartmouth Conference, if made permanent, offers unusual opportunities which have not been fully utilized as yet. This is a unique method of bringing together each year a significant group of men and women interested in the basic problems of social research, under an environment very favorable to leisurely reflection on the significance, methods, and interrelations of a set of fundamental questions in the social field. Such an opportunity is not usually afforded in the universities, in research institutes, in the annual sessions of our

several associations, or elsewhere; and it is full of important possibilities for the future of social science. Here are the conditions under which new contacts, new insights, new integrations, new valuations may be gained, and new ways opened in the direction of social advance.

With regard to the larger aspects of the Council's work, the president makes the following statement:

Social research has often been singularly uninventive and infertile, to such an extent that an unfriendly critic might allege that the effect of social study was to produce timidity and paralyze initiative. Invention has been left largely to the zeal of the prophets, the ardor of the embattled enthusiast for race, or class, or group, the fanatic, radical, or reactionary whose pattern fits him for propaganda rather than for science. It is, of course, a great task to transmit desirable traditions, but it is equally important in a rapidly changing world to suggest new types and forms better adapted to new situations.

Finally, he makes the prophecy that the influence of the Council is likely to be measured—and, indeed, is already measurable—not merely in terms of projects, co-ordinations, discoveries, formulas, methods, insights, and skills, but in the finer personal understanding among research men, in the closer scientific fellowship without which social research will fail to reach its full measure of attainment. With this may come as time goes on a more cordial working relationship with our friends in the nearby fields of natural science; and, on the other hand, more significant contributions to the constructive intelligence in social affairs which is the final end of social science.

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[To be continued]

SOURCE MATERIALS

DOROTHEA L. DIX AND FEDERAL AID

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

MORE than three-quarters of a century ago, Dorothea Lynde Dix, a pioneer in the field of public welfare administration, presented to the Congress of the United States a moving appeal for federal aid to the states in making provision for the insane.¹ At a time when federal land grants were an approved method of extending federal aid, she asked for a land grant to be used to assist the states in providing humane and curative treatment for what was already a large group in our population.

The beneficial results of improved care had been demonstrated more than half a century earlier by Pinel in Paris and by Tuke in England. In America, as her *Memorial* shows, some of the states had already made an effort to establish hospital care. The need, however, was too great to be met by state funds.

In the *Memorial* we have a flash-light picture of the care of the insane in our American states at the close of the first half of the nineteenth century. To secure the evidence in the *Memorial* showing the inadequacy of the provision for the insane in twenty-seven of the states, she traveled more than 60,000 miles, at a time when traveling involved almost inconceivable hardships. As a result of her effort a measure passed both houses of Congress, providing for a grant to the states of 10,000,000 acres of the public domain to be applied to the care of the insane and 2,500,000 acres for the education of the deaf. This measure was vetoed² by President Franklin Pierce on the ground both of power and of policy.

In view of recent discussions of federal aid, the *Memorial* of Miss

¹ The best available account of the work of Dorothea Dix will be found in Francis Tiffany, *Life of Dorothea Lynde Dix* (Boston, 1890).

² The veto message appears as one of the documents in the forthcoming volume of the "Social Service Series," *Public Welfare Administration in the United States*, by S. P. Breckinridge. The significance of the controversy between Miss Dix, President Pierce, and the Thirty-Third Congress is also discussed further in this volume.

Dix, the veto of President Pierce after Congress had finally answered her appeal, and the congressional debate following the veto are of timely interest. Space does not permit the publication of the veto message, but the *Memorial* and the extract from the *Debates* will be of interest.

Memorial of Dorothea L. Dix^{*}

Your memorialist respectfully asks permission to lay before you what seem to be just and urgent claims in behalf of a numerous and increasing class of sufferers in the United States. I refer to the great and inadequately relieved distresses of the insane throughout the country.

Upon the subject to which this *Memorial* refers, many to whose justice and humanity it appeals are well-informed; but the attention of many has not been called to the subject, and a few, but a very few, have looked upon some features of this sad picture as revealed in private dwellings, in poor-houses, and in prisons. . . .

It is a fact, not less certainly substantiated than it is deplorable, that insanity has increased in an advanced ratio with the fast increasing population in all the United States. For example, according to the best received methods of estimate five years since, it was thought correct to count one insane in every thousand inhabitants throughout the Union. At the present, my own careful investigations are sustained by the judgment and the information of the most intelligent superintendents of hospitals for the insane, in rendering the estimates not less than one insane person in every eight hundred inhabitants at large, throughout the United States.

There are, in proportion to numbers, more insane in cities than in large towns, and more insane in villages than among the same number of inhabitants dwelling in scattered settlements. . . .

There are twenty State hospitals, besides several incorporated hospitals, for the treatment of the insane, in nineteen States of the Union, Virginia alone having two government institutions of State and incorporated hospitals. . . .

^{*} Extract from *Memorial of D. L. Dix Praying a Grant of Land for the Relief and Support of the Indigent Curable and Incurable Insane in the United States, June 23, 1848* (U.S. Thirtieth Congress, 1st sess., "Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 150"). See *Congressional Globe* (Thirty-first Congress, 1st sess., June 25, 1850), p. 1290; (Thirty-second Congress, 1st sess., February, 4, 1852), p. 461; *ibid.*, June, 7, 1852, pp. 1527-29; (Thirty-third Congress, 1st sess., February 9, 1854), p. 389; *ibid.*, April 25, 1854, p. 985.

Well organized hospitals are the only fit places of residence for the insane of all classes; ill-conducted institutions are worse than none at all. The New York City Hospital for the Insane, and the State hospitals of Georgia and Tennessee, cannot take present respectable rank as curative or comfortable hospitals.

Tennessee State Hospital, at Nashville, was opened in 1839. According to an act of the legislature the present year, this hospital is to be replaced by one of capacity to receive 250 patients. In the old hospital are 64 patients. Boston City Hospital for the indigent, which has 150 patients, and Ohio State Hospital at Columbus, were severally opened in 1839. The latter has been considerably enlarged, and has now 329 patients. Maine State Hospital, at Augusta, 1840, patients 130. New Hampshire State Hospital, at Concord, was opened in 1842, and has 100 patients. New York State Hospital, at Utica, was established in 1843, and has since been largely extended, and has 600 patients. Mount Hope Hospital, near Baltimore, 1844-45, has 72 insane patients. Georgia has an institution for the insane at Milledgeville, and at present 128 patients. Rhode Island State Hospital opened, under the able direction of Dr. Ray, early in 1848. New Jersey State Hospital, at Trenton, 1848. Indiana State Hospital, at Indianapolis, will be opened in 1848. State Hospital of Illinois, at Jacksonville, will be occupied before 1849. The Louisiana State Hospital will be occupied perhaps within a year.

I repeat that these institutions, liberally sustained as are most of them, cannot accommodate *one twelfth* of the insane population of the United States which require prompt remedial care.

It may be suggested that though hospital treatment is expedient, perhaps it may not be absolutely necessary, especially for vast numbers whose condition may be considered irrecoverable, and in whom the right exercise of the reasoning faculties may be looked upon as past hope. Rather than enter upon a philosophical and abstract argument to prove the contrary to be the fact, I will ask permission to spread before you a *few* statements gathered, without special selection, from a mass of records made from existing cases, sought out and noted during *eight years* of sad, patient, deliberate investigation. To assure accuracy, establish facts beyond controversy, and procure, so far as possible, temporary or permanent relief, more than sixty thousand miles have been traversed, and no time or labor spared which fidelity to this imperative and grievous vocation demanded. The only States as yet unvisited are North Carolina, Florida, and Texas. From each of these,

however, I have had communications, which clearly prove that the conditions of the indigent insane differ in no essential degree from those of other States.

I have myself seen *more than nine thousand idiots, epileptics, and insane, in these United States, destitute of appropriate care and protection*; and of this vast and most miserable company, sought out in *jails, in poorhouses, and in private dwellings*, there have been hundreds, nay, rather thousands, bound with galling chains, bowed beneath fetters and heavy iron balls, attached to drag-chains, lacerated with ropes, scourged with rods, and terrified beneath storms of profane execrations and cruel blows; now subject to jibes, and scorn, and torturing kicks—now abandoned to the most loathsome necessities, or subject to the vilest and most outrageous violations. These are strong terms, but language fails to convey the astounding truths. I proceed to verify this assertion, commencing with the State of Maine. I will be ready to specify the towns and districts where each example quoted did exist, or exists still.

In B—, a furious maniac confined in the jail; case doubtful from long delay in removing to an hospital; a heap of filthy straw in one corner served for a bed; food was introduced through a small aperture, called a slit, in the wall, through which also was the sole source of ventilation and avenue for light.

Near C—, a man for several years in a narrow filthy pen, chained; condition loathsome in the extreme.

In A—, insane man in a small damp room in the jail; greatly excited; had been confined many years; during his paroxysms, which were aggravated by every manner of neglect, except want of food, he had *torn out his eyes*, lacerated his face, chest, and arms, seriously injured his limbs, and was in a state most shocking to behold. In P—, nine very insane men and women in the poorhouse, all exposed to neglect and every species of injudicious treatment; several chained, some in pens or stalls in the barn, and treated less kindly than the brute beasts in their vicinity. At C—, four furiously crazy; ill treated, through the ignorance of those who held them in charge. 47 cases in the middle district, either scattered in poorhouses, jails, or in private families, and all inappropriately treated in every respect; many chained, some bearing the marks of injuries self-inflicted, and many of injuries received from others. In New Hampshire, on the opening of the hospital for the reception of patients, in 1842, many were removed from cages, small unventilated cells in poorhouses, private houses, and from the dungeons of county jails. Many of these were bound with

cords, or confined with chains; some bore the marks of severe usage by blows and stripes. They were neglected and filthy; and some, who yet remain in remote parts of the State, through exposure to cold in inclement seasons, have been badly frozen, so as to be maimed for life. Details in many cases will not bear recital.

In New Hampshire, a committee of the legislature was named in 1832, whose duty it was to collect and report statistics of the insane. Returns were received from only one hundred and forty-one towns: in these were returned the names of *one hundred and eighty-nine* persons bereft of their reason, and incapable of taking care of themselves; ninety men and ninety-nine women. The number confined was *seventy-six, twenty-five* of whom were in private houses, seven in cells and cages, six in chains and irons, and four in the jails. Of the number at liberty, many had at various times been confined. Many of the facts represented by this committee are too horrible to repeat, and would lead many to the belief that they could not be correct, were they not so undeniably authenticated. The committee remark that from many towns no returns had been made, and conclude their *Report* with the declaration "that they could not doubt that the numbers of the insane greatly exceeded the estimates rendered."

Where were these insane? "Some were in cells or cages; some in outbuildings, garrets, or cellars; some in county jails, shut up with felons and criminals; some in almshouses, in brick cells, never warmed by fire, nor lighted by the rays of the sun." The facts presented to this committee not only exhibit severe unnecessary suffering, but utter neglect, and in many cases actual barbarity.

Most of the cases reported, I could authenticate from direct investigation. . . .

The [New Hampshire] committee of 1836 conclude their *Report* as follows:

Neither the time nor the occasion requires us to allude to instances of the aggravated and almost incredible suffering of the insane poor which have come to our knowledge. We are convinced that the legislature require no high wrought pictures of the various gradations of intense misery to which the pauper lunatic is subjected; extending from his incarceration in the cold, narrow, sunless, and fireless cell of the almshouse, to the scarcely more humane mode of "*selling him at auction*," as it is called, by which he falls into the hands, and is exposed to the tender mercies, of the most worthless of society, who alone could be excited by cupidity to such a revolting charge. Suffice it on this point, your committee are satisfied that the horrors of the *present* condition of the insane poor of New Hampshire are far from having

been exaggerated; and of course they find great unwillingness on the part of those having charge of them to render correct accounts, or to have these repeated to the public.

The *Report* of the nine trustees for the hospital, for 1847, states, that from authentic sources they are informed that "in eight of the twenty-four towns in Merrimack county, having an aggregate population of twelve thousand, there are eighteen insane paupers; part supported upon the town-farms, and part *set up and bid off at auction from year to year, to be kept and maintained by the lowest bidder.*" According to the data afforded above, there must be in the State several hundred insane supported on the poor-farms, or put up at auction, annually.

In Vermont, the same neglect, ignorance, and sometimes brutal severity, led to like results. Dr. Rockwell, his assistant physicians, and the whole corps of hospital nurses, bear accordant testimony to the sufferings of patients formerly brought to that institution from all parts of the State; and many even now arrive under circumstances the most revolting and shocking, subject to the roughest treatment or the most inexcusable and extreme neglect.

I have seen many of these afflicted persons, men of hardy frames and women of great capacity for endurance, bowed and wasted till almost all trace of humanity was lost in groveling habits, and injuries through severities and privations, which those cannot comprehend who have never witnessed similar cases of misery.

Not many counties, if indeed any towns or parishes, but have their own tales of various woe, illustrated in the miseries of the insane.

In the eighth annual *Report* of the Vermont hospital for 1844 is the following record, which being a repetition in fact, if not almost literal expression of my own notes, I adopt in preference:

One case was brought to the hospital four and a half years ago, of a man who had been insane more than twelve years. During the four years previous to his admission he had not worn any article of clothing, and had been caged in a cellar, without feeling the influence of a fire. A nest of straw was his only bed and covering. He was so violent that his keeper thought it necessary to cause *an iron ring to be riveted about his neck*, so that they could hold him when they changed his bed of straw. In this miserable condition he was taken from the cellar and conveyed to the hospital. . . .

Examples here, as in *every State of the Union*, might be multiplied of the insane caged and chained, confined in garrets, cellars, corn-

houses, and other outbuildings, until their extremities were seized by the frost, and their sufferings augmented by extreme torturing pain.

In all the States where the cold of winter is sufficient to cause freezing of the human frame by exposure, I have found many mutilated insane, deprived either of the hands or the feet, and sometimes of both.

In Massachusetts we trace repetition of like circumstances. . . .

I visited the poor house in W—. In a cage, built under a woodshed, fully exposed to all passers upon the public road, was a miserable insane man, partially enveloped in a torn coverlet. "My husband," remarked the mistress of the house, "clears out the cage and puts in fresh straw once a week; but sometimes it's hard work to master him. You see him now in his best estate!"

In the adjacent town, at the poorhouse, was a similar case; only, if possible, more revolting, more excited, and more neglected. There were also other persons there in different stages of insanity.

In a county jail not distant was a man who had been confined in a close apartment for many years; a wreath of rags invested his body and his neck; he was filthy in the extreme; there was neither table, seat, nor bed; a heap of noxious straw defiled one corner of the room.

One case more must suffice for this section: I would that no others could be adduced even more revolting than are these so briefly referred to. In G—, distant from the poorhouse a few rods, was a small wooden building, constructed of plank, affording a single room; this was unfurnished, save with a bundle of straw. The occupant of this comfortless abode was a young man, declared to be incurably insane. He was chained, and could move but a little space to and fro; the chain was connected to the floor by a heavy staple at one end—the other was attached to an *iron collar which invested his neck*—the device, it seemed, of a former keeper. In summer the door was thrown open, but during winter it was closed, and the room was in darkness. Some months after I saw this poor patient, and after several individuals also had witnessed his sufferings, the authorities who directed the affairs of the poorhouse reluctantly consented that he should be placed under the care of Dr. Bell. The man who was charged to convey the patient the distance of rather more than forty miles, having bound and chained him (I have the impression that, by the aid of a blacksmith, he was released at this time from the torturing iron ring) conveyed him as far as East Cambridge, arriving at dusk. Instead of proceeding with the patient at once to the hospital, which was distant less than a mile, in Somerville,

he chained him for the night to a post in the stable. After breakfast he was released and carried to the hospital in a state of much exhaustion. While the careful attendants and humane physician were busied in removing the strong bands which chafed his limbs, and lacerated the flesh in many places, he continually endeavored to express his gratitude—embracing them, weeping, and exclaiming, "Good men! kind men! Ah, good, kind men, keep me here."

After some months of careful nursing, he was so much improved that strong hopes were entertained of his complete restoration. These were crushed by an absolute decision of the overseers of the poor, remanding him to his old prison. Remonstrance was ineffectual. The last account stated an entire relapse, not only to the former state, but to a still more hopeless condition. He had become totally idiotic. . . .

Of the most miserable neglects in the case of large numbers carried for successive years to the Hartford Retreat, Drs. Brigham, Woodward, and Butler can, even now, bear sad testimony; and to the observations of medical men may be added the evidence of that good man and true friend of sufferers, Rev. T. H. Gallaudet.

Rhode Island has nearly or quite four hundred insane, idiots, and epileptics. About 90 recently are receiving the benefit of hospital care, under the enlightened administration of Dr. Ray. In no State, however, have I found more terrible examples of neglect and suffering, from abuse or ignorance, than existed there in the year 1843, and some cases in 1845-47. In the jails were many pining in narrow, damp, unventilated dungeons. In the poorhouses were many examples of misery and protracted distress. In private families these conditions were less frequent; but the suffering, through ill-directed aims at securing the patients from escape, was in many instances equally revolting and shocking. Here, as in the five States first referred to, hundreds of special cases might be cited, did time permit. . . .

New York, according to the census of 1840, had 2,340 idiots and insane. I am convinced that this estimate was below the certain number by many hundreds. In 1841, the Secretary of State reported 803 supported at public charge. In 1842, the trustees of poorhouses estimated the number of insane poor then confined in the *jails* and *poor houses* at 1,430. In 1843 I traversed every county in the State, visiting every poorhouse and prison, and the insane in many private families. The hospital for the insane at Utica was opened in January, 1843, and

during the year received 276 patients, all with the exception of six being residents of the State of New York. On Blackwell's island were above 300; at Bloomingdale more than 100: 26 were at Bellevue. Besides these, I found, chiefly in the poorhouses, more than 1,500 insane and idiots, 500 of whom were west of Cayuga bridge. In the poorhouse at Flatbush were 26 insane, not counting idiots; in that at Whiteplains were 30 insane; at Albany between 30 and 40; at Ghent 18; in Greene county 46. In Washington county poorhouse, besides "simple, silly, and idiotic," 20 insane. Nearly every poorhouse in the State had, and still has, its "crazy house," "crazy cells," "crazy dungeons," or "crazy hall;" and in these, with rare exceptions, the inevitable troubles and miseries of the insane are sorely aggravated.

At A—, in the cell first opened, was a madman. The fierce command of his keeper brought him to the door, a hideous object; matted locks, an unshorn beard, a wild, wan countenance, disfigured by vilest uncleanness; in a state of nudity, save the irritating incrustations derived from that dungeon, reeking with loathsome filth. There, *without light*, without pure air, without warmth, without cleansing, absolutely destitute of everything securing comfort or decency, was a human being—*forlorn, abject, and disgusting*, it is true, but not the less of a human being—nay more, an immortal being, though the mind was fallen in ruins, and the soul was clothed in darkness. And who was he—this neglected, brutalized wretch? A burglar, a murderer, a miscreant, who for base, foul crimes had been condemned, by the justice of outraged laws and the righteous indignation of his fellow-men, to expiate offences by exclusion from his race, by privations and sufferings extreme, yet not exceeding the measure and enormity of his misdeeds? No; this was no doomed criminal, festering in filth, wearing wearily out the warp of life in dreariest solitude and darkness. No, this was no criminal—"only a crazy man." How, in the touching language of Scripture, could he have said: "My brethren are far from me, and mine acquaintance are verily estranged from me: my kinsfolk have failed, and my familiar friends have forgotten me: my bone cleaveth unto my skin and my flesh. Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, for the hand of God hath touched me!" . . .

In B—, the cells in the crazy cellar admitted neither light nor pure air.

In T—, the cells for the insane men were in a shocking condition.

In A—, were above twenty insane men and women in the poor-

house, mostly confined *with chains and balls attached to fetters*. "By adopting this plan," said the master of the poorhouse, "I have given them light and air, preventing their escape; otherwise I should have to keep them always in the cells." A considerable number of women, mostly incurables, were "behinds the pickets," in an out-building; there was a passage sufficiently lighted and warmed, and of width for exercise. There was no classification; the noisy and the quiet mutually vexed each other. One woman was restrained by a barbarous apparatus to prevent rendring her clothes: it consisted of *an iron collar investing the throat*, through which, at the point of closing in front, passed a small bolt or bar, from which depended *an iron triangle*, the sides of which might measure sixteen or eighteen inches. To the corners of the horizontal side were attached *iron wristlets*: thus holding the hands confined, and as far apart as the length of the base line of the triangle. When the hands and arms were suddenly elevated, pressure upon the apex of the triangle, near the point of connexion at the throat, produced a sense of suffocation; and why not certain strangulation, it was not easy to show.

Not distant from the poorhouse I found a woman in a private dwelling, supported by two invalid sisters; she was in the highest state of phrensy, and nearly exhausted the patience of love in those who toiled laborously for her and their own scanty maintenance. She had once been transferred to the poorhouse; but patience was never there exercised in behalf of the unruly; and bearing the marks of harsh blows, she was taken again by her sisters, to share "the little they could earn so long as they or she should live."

In E—, the insane, as usual, were unfitly disposed of. To adopt the language of a neighboring farmer, "those damp dreary cells were not fit for a dog to house in, much less for crazy folks."

At R—, and M—, and L—, and B—, were repetitions of the like dismal cells—heavy chains and balls, and hopeless sufferings. After my visit at L—, I found one of the former inmates at the hospital in charge of Dr. Brigham. *He bore upon his ankles the deep scars of fetters and chains, and upon his feet evidence of exposure to frost and cold.*

In B—, several idiots occupied together a portion of a most comfortable establishment. *One gibbering, senseless creature* was the mother of an infant child.

At A—, the most furious were in narrow cells, which were neither cleaned, warmed, nor ventilated. In O— was an insane man, so shockingly neglected and abused that his limbs were crippled, so that he

could neither stand nor walk; he was extended on a miserable dirty pallet, untended and little cared for.

At E—, the insane were confined in cells crammed with coarse, dirty straw, in the basement, dark and damp. "They are," said the keeper, "taken out and *washed* (buckets of water thrown over them) *and have clean straw, once every week.*"

In H—, were many furiously crazy. Several of the women were said to be mothers of infants, which were in an adjoining room pining with neglect, and unacknowledged by their frantic mothers.

I pass over hundreds of desperate cases, and quote a few examples from my notes in New Jersey; altogether omitting Canada, East and West, as being without the limits of the United States; though corresponding examples with those in New York were found in almost every direction. In 1841, there were found in New Jersey, upon a rather cursory survey, *two-hundred and fifty-two insane men, one hundred and sixty-three insane women, and one hundred and ninety-six idiots*, of both sexes. I traversed the State in 1844; the numbers in every county were increased, and their miseries were also increased. Sixty patients had been placed in the hospitals in New York and Pennsylvania, but hundreds still occupied the wretched cells and dungeons of almshouses, and of prisons. In the winter of 1845 several froze to death, and several perished through severe exposure and alarm at a fire which consumed a populous poorhouse. At S—, of eight insane patients, several were heavily chained, and two were furiously mad.

In one poorhouse was a man who had been chained by the leg for more than twenty years, and the only warmth introduced into his cell was derived from a small stovepipe carried through one corner. . . .

In P—, the *cells in the cellar for the insane* were in a most wretched condition. In M—, the insane, and many imbeciles, were miserably housed, fed, and clothed. In the vicinity of the main building was one of brick, containing the poor cells, *from eight to nine feet square*. A straw bed and blanket on the floor constituted the furniture, if I except the *ring-bolts and iron chains for securing the patients*. In P—, I found the insane, as usual, ill provided for. One madman was chained, clothed only with a straight jacket, laced so as to impede the motion of the arms and hands: cold, exposed, and offensive to the last degree, his aspect, wild and furious, was as shocking as his language was coarse and blasphemous. Such care was bestowed as the keepers of the poorhouse best could render; but an hospital alone could afford fit treatment for one so dangerous and so unmanageable. . . .

In Y— were above thirty insane: those in the basement of the poorhouse occupied cells of sufficient dimensions, being fourteen by ten, and ten feet high; *hobbles* and *chains* in use. The physician estimated the number of insane in the county at more than one hundred, and added that cases of exceeding neglect and suffering often came to his knowledge. Sufficient provision in hospitals might save thousands of honest citizens from becoming a life-long burden to themselves and others, through permanent insanity. In this county above one hundred insane were found; there probably were other cases. In the poorhouse at G— the insane were exposed and suffering; the basement cells measured *eight by eight feet, and eight feet high*. *Chains, hobbles*, and the miscalled "*tranquilizing chain*," were in use. There were more than forty insane in the county.

In C—, above twenty insane and idiots in the poorhouse; one was chained near the fireplace of a small room; a box filled with straw was near, in which he slept. Above 60 insane and idiots in this county. In B— I found nearly forty; some chained, others confined in narrow cells. In S—, several insane in the jail; one, *heavily ironed*, had been in close confinement there six years—another for eleven months. In this county the insane and idiots were estimated to be 76 in 1840. I heard of more than 100. One woman has for months wandered in the woods and fields in a state of raving madness.

In G—, several cases in the jail; one chained: above forty in the county.

In N—, in the jail, two madmen in chains; no furniture or decent care. One was rolling in the dust, in the highest excitement: he had been in close confinement for fifteen years. On one occasion he became exasperated at the introduction of a drunken prisoner into his cell, who perhaps provoked him. No one knows; but the keeper, on entering, found the insane man furious, covered with the blood of the other, who was murdered and mutilated in the most shocking manner. Another insane man had been in confinement for seven years, and both are to this day in the same prison. In the poorhouse were above twenty insane and idiots; four chained to the floor. In the adjacent county were above fifty insane and epileptics; several cases of misery through brutal usage, by "kicks and beating," in private families. . . .

In Maryland, large numbers are at this hour in the lowest state of misery to which the insane can be reduced. At four different periods I have looked into the condition of many cases, counting hundreds there.

Chains, and want, and sorrows, abound for the insane poor in both the western and eastern districts, but especially in the western.

In Delaware, the same history is only to be repeated, with this variation: as the numbers are fewer, so is the aggregate of misery less.

In the District of Columbia, the old and the new jails, and the almshouses, had, till very recently, their black, horrible histories. I witnessed abuses in some of these in 1838, in 1845, and since, from which every sense recoils. At present, most of these evils are mitigated in this immediate vicinity, but by no means relieved to the extent that justice and humanity demand.

In Virginia, very many cases of extreme suffering now exist. The most observing and humane of the medical profession have repeatedly expressed the desire for additional hospital provision for the insane. Like cases of great distress to those in Maryland and Pennsylvania were found in the years 1844 and '45. In every county through which I passed were the insane to be found—sometimes chained, sometimes wandering free. In the large, populous poorhouse near R— were spectacles the most offensively loathsome. Utter neglect and squalid wretchedness surrounded the insane. The estimate of *two thousand insane* idiots and epileptic patients in this State is thought to be below the actual number. The returns in 1840 were manifestly incorrect.

In the *Report* upon the Western State Hospital of Virginia, at Staunton, for the year 1847, Dr. Stribling feelingly remarks upon the very insufficient means at command for the relief of the insane poor throughout the State. . . .

North Carolina has more than twelve hundred insane and idiots. . . .

South Carolina records the same deplorable abuses and necessities as New York. I have found there the insane in pens, and bound with cords and chains, and suffering no less than the same class in States already referred to at the north, except through exposure to the cold in winter, the climate in the southern States sparing that aggravated misery. . . .

Georgia has, so far as I have been able to ascertain, fewer insane, in proportion to population, than either North or South Carolina, but there is not less injudicious or cruel management of the violent cases throughout the State; chains and ropes are employed to increase security from escapes, in addition to closed doors, and the bolts and bars

which shut the dreary cells and dungeons of jails and other receptacles. . . .

In Tennessee the insane and idiot population, as in Kentucky, is numerous and increasing. *The same methods of confinement to cabins, pens, cells, dungeons, and the same abandonment to filth, to cold, and exposure, as in other States.*

In Kentucky I found one epileptic girl subject to the most brutal treatment, and many insane in perpetual confinement. Of the *idiots* alone, supported by the State at a cost of \$17,500.62, in indigent private families, and of which class there were in 1845 *four hundred and fifty*, many were exposed to severest treatment and heavy blows from day to day, and from year to year. In a dreary block-house was confined for many years a man whose insanity took the form of mania. Often the most furious paroxysms prevented rest for several days and nights in succession. No alleviation reached this unhappy being; without clothes, without fire, without care or kindness, his existence was protracted amidst every horror incident to such circumstances. *Chains in common use.*

In Ohio, the insane population, including idiots, has been greatly underrated, as I am fully satisfied by repeated but interrupted inquiries in different sections of the State. The sufferings of a great number here are very distressing, corresponding with those referred to in New York and in Kentucky. *Cells and dungeons, unventilated and uncleansed apartments, severe restraints, and multiplied neglects, abound.*

Michigan, it was stated, had sixty-three insane in 1840. I think it a moderate estimate, judging from my investigations, reaching no further north than Jackson and Detroit, that the number in 1847 exceeded two hundred and fifty. I saw some truly afflicted and lamentable cases.

Indiana, traversed through its whole length and breadth in 1846, exhibits the usual forms of misery wherever the insane are found; and of this class there cannot be, including idiots and epileptics, less than nine hundred. *I found one poor woman in a smoke-house, in which she had been confined more than twenty years.* In several poorhouses the insane, both men and women, were chained to the floors, sometimes all in the same apartment. Several were confined in mere pens without clothing or shelter; some furious—others for a time comparatively tranquil. The hospital now about to be opened, when finished, will not receive to its care one patient in ten of existing cases.

Illinois, visited also in its whole extent in 1846, has more than four hundred insane, at the most moderate estimate. . . .

In Missouri, visited in 1846 and 1847, multiplied cases were found in pens, in stalls, in cages, in dungeons, and in cells; men and women alike exhibited the most deplorable aspects. Some are now dead, others still live only to experience renewed troubles of mind, and tortures of the flesh.

Let these examples suffice; others daily occur. Humanity requires that every insane person should receive the care appropriate to his condition, in which the integrity of the judgment is destroyed, and the reasoning faculties confused or prostrated.

Hardly second to this consideration is the civil and social obligation to consult and secure the public welfare: first in affording a protection against the frequently manifested dangerous propensities of the insane; and second, by assuring seasonable and skilful remedial cares, procuring their restoration to usefulness as citizens of the republic, and as members of communities.

Under ordinary circumstances, and where there is no organic lesion of the brain, no disease is more manageable or more easily cured than insanity; but to this end, special appliances are necessary, which cannot be had in private families, nor in every town and city; hence the necessity for hospitals, and the multiplication, *not enlargement*, of such institutions. The citizens of many States have readily submitted to increased taxation, and individuals have contributed liberal gifts, in order to meet these imperative wants. Hospitals have been constructed, and well organized. The important charge of these has been in most instances confided to highly responsible and skilful physicians—men whose rank in morals and in intellect, while commanding the public confidence, has wrought immeasurable benefits for hundreds and thousands of those in whom, for a time, the light of reason had been hidden.

But while the annual reports emanating from these beneficent institutions record eminent successes in the cure of *recently* developed cases, the provision for the treatment of this malady in the United States is found wholly insufficient for existing necessities, as has been already demonstrated in preceding pages.

To confide the insane to persons whose education and habits do not qualify them for this charge, is to condemn them to a mental death. The keepers of prisons, the masters of poorhouses, and most persons in private families, are wholly unacquainted with bodily and mental diseases, and are therefore incapable of the judicious application of such remedial measures, moral, mental, and medical, as are requisite for the restoration of physical and mental health. Recovery, even of

recent cases, not submitted to hospital charge, is known to be very rare; a fact readily demonstrable by examples, and by figures, if necessary. It may be more satisfactory to show the benefits of hospital treatment, rather than dilate upon the certain evils of prison and almshouse neglects or abuses, and domestic mismanagement.

Under well-directed hospital care, *recovery is the rule—incurable permanent insanity the exception*. . . .

I do not recollect a more satisfactory illustration of the benefits of hospital care upon large numbers of incurable patients, brought under improving influences at one and the same time, than is afforded in the first opening of the hospital for the insane poor at South Boston. Prior to 1839, the insane poor of Suffolk county were confined in a receptacle in rear of the almshouse; or rather all those of this class who were furiously mad, and considered dangerous to be abroad upon the farm grounds. This receptacle revealed scenes of horror and utter abomination such as language is powerless to represent. These wretched creatures, both men and women, exhibited cases of long standing, regarded past recovery, their malady being confirmed by the grossest mismanagement.

The citizens were at length roused to a sense of the enormity and extent of these abuses, matched only, it is believed, (except in individual cases,) by the vile condition of the English private madhouses, as thrown open to the inspection of Parliamentary commissioners, within the last thirty years. The monstrous injustice and cruelty of herding these maniacs in a hall filled with cages, behind the bars of which, all loathsome and offensive, they howled, and gibbered, and shrieked, and moaned, day and night, like infuriated wild beasts, moved the kindling sensibilities of those heretofore ignorant or indifferent. The most sanguine friends of the hospital plan expected no more for these wretched beings than to procure for them greater decency and comfort; recovery of the mental faculties, for such as these, was not anticipated.

The new buildings were completed, opened, and a system of discipline adopted by Dr. Butler, the results of which I witnessed with profound interest and surprise. The insane were removed, disencumbered of their chains, freed from the remnants of foul garments, bathed, clothed, fed decently, and placed by kind nurses in comfortable apartments. Remedial means, medical and moral, were judiciously applied. Behold the result of a few months' care, in their recovered physical health, order, general quiet, and well-directed employments. Now, and since, visit the hospital when you may, at neither set time nor season,

you will find this class of *incurable* patients exercising in companies or singly, reading the papers of the day, or books loaned from the library; some busy in the vegetable, some in the flower gardens, while some are found occupied in the washing and ironing rooms, in the kitchen and in the sewing rooms. Less than one-sixth of those who were removed from the almshouse recovered their reason; but, with the exception of three or four individuals, they regained the decent habits of respectable life, and a capacity to be useful, to labor, and to enjoy occupation.

No hospital in the United States but affords abundant evidence of the capacity of the insane to work under direction of suitable attendants, and of recovery from utter helplessness to a considerable degree of activity and capacity for various employments.

I have seen the patient attendants, in many institutions, persevere day by day in endeavors to rouse, and interest, and instruct the demented in healthful occupations; and these efforts after a time have found reward in the gradual improvement of the objects of their care, and their acquisition of power to attend to stated healthful labors. . . .

I ask of the representatives of a whole nation, benefits for all their constituents. Annual taxation for the support of the insane in hospitals is felt to be onerous, both in the populous maritime States, and in the States and Territories west of the Alleghanies. Much has been done, but much more remains to be accomplished, as I have endeavored to demonstrate in the preceding pages, for the relief of the sufferings and oppressions of that large class of the distressed for whom I plead, and upon whose condition I am solicitous to fix your attention.

I ask for the people that which is already the property of the people; but possessions so holden, that it is through your action alone they can be applied as is now urged.

The whole public good must be sought and advanced through those channels which most certainly contribute to the moral elevation and true dignity of a great people.

Americans boast much of superior intelligence and sagacity; of power and influence; of their vast resources possessed and yet undeveloped; of their free institutions and civil liberty; of their liberally endowed schools of learning, and of their far-reaching commerce: they call themselves a mighty nation; they name themselves a great and wise people. If these claims to distinction above most nations of the earth are established upon undesirable premises, then will the rulers, the political economists, and the moral philosophers of other and remote countries, look scrutinizingly into our civil and social condition for

examples to illustrate the greatness of our name. They will seek not to measure the strength and extent of the fortifications which guard our coast; they will not number our vessels of war, or of commerce; they will not note the strength of our armies; they will not trace the course of the thousands eager for self-aggrandizement, nor of the tens of thousands led on by ambition and vain glory; they will search after illustrations in those God-like attributes which sanctify private life, and in that incorruptible integrity and justice which perpetuates national existence. They will note the moral grandeur and dignity which leads the statesman to lay broad and deep the foundations of national greatness, in working out the greatest good for the whole people; in effect, making paramount the interests of mind to material wealth, or mere physical prosperity. *Primarily*, then, in the highest order of means for confirming the prosperity of a people and the duration of government must be the education of the ignorant, and restoring the health and maintaining the sick mind in its natural integrity.

I will not presume to dictate to those in whose humane dispositions I have faith, and whose wisdom I cannot question.

I have approached you with self-diffidence, but with confidence in your impartial and just consideration of the subject submitted to your discussion and righteous effective decision.

I confide to you the cause and the claims of the destitute and of the desolate, without fear or distrust. I ask, for the thirty States of the Union, 5,000,000 acres of land, of the many hundreds of millions of public lands, appropriated in such manner as shall assure the greatest benefits to all who are in circumstances of extreme necessity, and who, through the providence of God, *are wards of the nation*, claimants on the sympathy and care of the public, through the miseries and disqualifications brought upon them by the sorest afflictions with which humanity can be visited.

The Senate Debate on the Veto¹

MR. BROWN: The President, in the outset of the message, admits that this is a measure of great humanity, and one which commends itself to the warmest sympathies of his heart. I am glad he said so, because I apprehend that the sentiment will find a response in the heart of every American citizen, of every friend of humanity, whether he resides north or south, east or west. The President says that eleemosy-

¹ Extract from *Congressional Globe* (Thirty-third Congress, 1st sess., May 3, 1854), pp. 1063, 1065.

nary objects or purposes are not among those which are provided for in the Constitution. So they are not in express terms; but does Congress never legislate upon any subject in regard to which it has not been expressly authorized to legislate? If not, I want to know where we get our authority to legislate for school purposes? The President makes an argument to show by implication that we have the power to do that. All the grants that have been made from time to time for school purposes are sanctioned by the Constitution, according to his construction of it; and yet, sir, you may read the instrument from one end to the other, and find no specific power to make grants for school purposes. If the President will point to the clause which authorizes grants of land to colleges, I will show him the clause which authorizes the grant proposed in this bill.

But, says the President, if we legislate for the benefit of the insane, where are we to stop? Are we to carry our benevolence so far as to legislate for the protection of all other indigent or unfortunate classes? This, you will see at once, is not an argument which can touch the question of power, but it is simply an argument which reaches the question of the exercise of power. If you have authority to do this, it may follow that you have the power to do something else; but it does not follow that because you do this, you ought therefore to do something else. If you have the power to make an appropriation of land for the protection and benefit of the indigent insane, it may follow that you have the power to make an appropriation of land for the protection and benefit of the indigent who are not insane. But if you exercise the power in the one case, it does not necessarily follow that you must exercise it in the other.

The President seems to think that in this matter the States will be brought to bow to the authority of Congress. I do not think so. When my State and yours, Mr. President, (Mr. Bright occupying the chair) accepted donations of land for school purposes, for common schools, and for schools of a higher grade, did it ever enter into your head or mine that our States were thereby humiliated, and were bowing as paupers, and beggars, and mendicants, to the authority of Congress? No sir; we felt that we were receiving a part of that which belonged to us, that we were not beggars but that Congress was giving its assent to our exercising exclusive jurisdiction over a part of that which belonged to us in common with our fellow-citizens of all the States.

The President seems also to be apprehensive that if we go on legislating in this way, we shall dry up all the sources of benevolence in the

States, and that the people of the States, instead of taking care of their indigent insane, their poor, their blind, and their lame, will habitually look to Congress for the protection of those classes. I think not. With as much justice might you say that, if you receive land from the Government for the education, in part, of your children, this will induce the States to look to Congress for the means of educating all the children. Did it ever enter into your mind, sir, when Congress granted your State the sixteenth section of land in each township for school purposes, that, by the State accepting it, you were in danger of becoming mendicants, begging Congress to make appropriations for the education of all the children in your State? I apprehend there is no more danger of our becoming beggars at the footstool of Congress for the support of our indigent insane, our indigent blind, and our poor of every class, if we accept a grant like this, than there has been that we should become beggars of Congress to educate all our children, because, in days gone by, we accepted aid from Congress to educate a part of them. . . .

MR. DIXON: I am no latitudinarian in the construction of the Federal Constitution, and perhaps would go as far as any Senator on this floor in maintaining the constitutional rights of the States, and of keeping separate and apart the powers which properly belong to the Federal Government and those justly appertaining to the States. But I cannot understand how it is that, if the Federal Government can exercise the constitutional power of making a grant of lands for one benevolent object, it may not do it for another. It has appropriated lands for roads and canals; it has donated, in effect, a large amount of the public lands to assist a State in paying off her public debt; it has appropriated lands to educational purposes in the States in which the lands lie; it has given them to States within which they do not lie for similar purposes; it has appropriated large sums of money to the building of marine hospitals in different States, to minister to the wants and comforts of the unfortunate and wretched class of citizens described in the different acts making the appropriations. It has given, time and again, large sums of money, and large portions of the public lands, for other purposes—some benevolent and some speculative, and all without any express grant of power under the Federal Constitution; and now, when we are about to vote away thousands and thousands of acres of the public domain to all such as may settle on them, whether they be citizens or foreigners, we are gravely told by the President that a grant, by Congress, of a portion of this same public domain, for an object the most humane and the most benevolent, and which appeals most strong-

ly to the sympathies of every heart capable of feeling for the misfortunes of the most unhappy of mankind, is interdicted by the spirit of the Constitution, and a violation of the rights and an encroachment on the sovereignty of the States. . . .

MR. BELL: I do not mean to cite the occasional appropriations which have been heretofore made of the public lands with a view to rely upon them; such, for example, as the township of land to Connecticut to found an institution for the instruction of the deaf and dumb in 1819,—and a similar appropriation to Kentucky at a subsequent period in 1826. Take out all these occasional appropriations, exclude them entirely from the argument, throw them aside as being irregular, and what do we find? I may say here, in passing, that such appropriations as these constitute a very small, and almost invisible fraction of the enormous amount of the public land which has been appropriated. I have not examined the reports or public documents from the Departments in relation to the subject, but I know it is said that a hundred millions of acres of the public lands have heretofore been appropriated—not sold, and the money paid into the Treasury; but this large quantity of land has been given to the States in which the lands lie for the purposes of education, and for the purpose of aiding them in the construction of works of internal improvement. It was only a few years ago, as you know, sir, that we appropriated seven hundred and fifty thousand acres of land, with scarcely any debate or controversy in the Senate, for the construction of a canal around the falls at the Sault St. Mary—to overcome obstructions in the straits, between Lake Huron and Lake Superior.

The great mass of these appropriations has been for the support of internal improvements, and for laying the foundations of a system of schools and education in the new States. Then again they have received large grants of swamp lands; but take them out of view, regard them as not constituting one of the items about which the old States should complain; suppose they should amount to twenty or thirty millions of acres, still there would remain sixty or seventy-five millions of acres which have been voted away for the general purposes which I have enumerated—for internal improvements and educational purposes in the new States. . . .

NOTES AND COMMENT

THE ASSOCIATION of Schools of Professional Social Work held its eighth annual meeting at St. Louis on December 28, 1926. The program consisted of a series of round-table meetings in the afternoon at the Hotel Statler, and a dinner meeting followed by a general session in the evening. The Round Table for School Administrators and Agency Executives Interested in Recruiting was in charge of Dean Cutler, of Western Reserve University, as chairman, with the discussion led by Professor Stuart Queen, of the University of Kansas, Professor Morgan, of the University of Missouri, and Dr. W. W. Pettit, of the New York School of Social Work. The Round Table for Teachers and Supervisors of Community Organization was in charge of Elwood Street, of the St. Louis Community Council, as chairman, with the discussion led by Professor Jesse F. Steiner, of the University of North Carolina. The Round Table for Teachers and Supervisors of Case Work was in charge of Miss Breckinridge, of the University of Chicago, as chairman, with Margaret Leal, of the New York School of Social Work, and Mr. Bruno, of the University of Missouri, opening the discussion.

At the general session in the evening, Dr. C. C. Carstens, General secretary of the Child Welfare League of America, discussed the "Function of the Schools of Social Work as They Relate to Child Welfare." There was a good attendance both at the dinner meeting and at the general session, with representatives of thirteen of the twenty-four member schools in the Association present and with representatives of several other schools present as guests.

A meeting of the Executive Committee held during the same day was attended by the following members: James E. Cutler, Western Reserve University; Jesse F. Steiner, University of North Carolina; Edith Abbott, the University of Chicago, chairman; Margaret Leal, New York School of Social Work, secretary-treasurer. Professor J. A. Dale, of the University of Toronto, was elected to membership in the Executive Committee for the coming year. Applications for membership in the Association from four new schools were referred to the Committee on Standards.

During the business meeting, reports were made from the following

committees: Committee on the Collection of Case Materials, Miss Breckinridge (Chicago) chairman; Committee on Uniform Statistics, Professor Chapin (Minnesota) chairman; Committee on Standards, Mr. Pettit (New York) chairman.

The next meeting of the Association will be held during the National Conference of Social Work in Des Moines, May 11-18.

NEWS from the American Association of Social Workers is varied and interesting. On the side of publication, the Association reports the appearance of three of its vocational pamphlets: *The Nature and Scope of Social Work*, *Family Welfare Work*, and *Psychiatric Social Work* (the latter a new edition), with two others, *Medical Social Work* and *Child Welfare Work*, in the hands of committees. Two other projects of the Association, about which a "progress report" can be made, are a "Job Analysis" of social work which is being carried on by Louise Odenrantz, of the Russell Sage Foundation, and a "Study of Personnel Practices," which is being carried on by a committee under the chairmanship of John Fitch, of the New York School of Social Work.

During the Social Science meetings in St. Louis, the Executive Committee of the Association held a dinner meeting at the home of Elwood Street on December 27, with the following members present: Neva Deardorff, president, Louise Cottrell, John Fitch, William Hodson, Wilfred S. Reynolds, Mary Russell, Elwood Street, Linton Swift, and Walter Whitson. Dorothea de Schweinitz represented the Headquarters Staff.

The most important subject of discussion was the new plan for the vocational bureau. Since the Denver conference, the Association has been trying to find a way to finance the work of the bureau. It has been clear for the past three years that an employment and vocational guidance service are too costly to be carried on Association funds if the primary object of the Association—"To promote professional standards through research and the exchange of ideas"—is also to be maintained.

A committee, of which Mr. Harry L. Hopkins, of New York, has been chairman, finally developed a plan for combining the work of the bureau with a similar bureau of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing. The new bureau will be called the Vocational Service for Social Workers and Public Health Nurses; it opened its doors on January 1, 1927, in the Russell Sage Foundation Building, 130 East 22d Street, New York City, taking over the assets and good will of the vocational bureaus of the two organizations.

The service will be for the present under the direction of a joint committee, with Mr. Hopkins as chairman, including (1) the following as representatives of the Association: William Hodson, Solomon Lowenstein, Louise Odencrantz, Walter Pettit, and Alfred Whitman; (2) the following representatives of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing: Grace Anderson, Alta Elizabeth Dines, Mary S. Gardner, Mrs. Lewis Thompson, Elnora Thomson, Mrs. Elsbeth Vaughan; and (3) the following representatives of five national associations: American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, Ruth Hill; American Public Health Association, Homer Calvert; Child Welfare League of America, C. C. Carstens; National Committee for Mental Hygiene, Kathleen Ormsby; and the National Tuberculosis Association, Frederick Hopkins.

Another item of interest to Association members is the publication in the December, 1926, *Compass* of the report of the Association's subcommittee "On the Break in the Working Relations between the Community Fund and the Family Service Society of Columbus, Ohio." This report, which was prepared at the request of the Columbus chapter of the American Association of Social Workers, should be studied by all chapters of the Association.

AN INTERESTING report comes from Germany of an attempt to raise the level of professional social work by means of a state examination. This examination has been established in Prussia, for example, by an order issued by the *Wohlfahrts Ministerium*. Young women who are graduates of the schools of social work are eligible to take this examination.

The limitations of the situation seem to be (1) that it is a local and not a national regulation; (2) that no public or private agency is compelled to select social workers whom it wishes to employ from among those holding state diplomas; (3) that at present the examinations, like the courses in the schools of social work, are required, in so far as they are required at all, only for women and not for men.

On the other hand, the plan represents a very definite step toward higher professional standards. Most of the German states have followed the example of Prussia, and the examination system is on the road to being well established in Germany. It is said to be almost impossible now for a woman to secure a position as a social worker for a public agency without holding the state diploma, and the better private agencies are holding strictly to the state examination for their workers.

In so important an organization as the Association of Social Workers in Berlin (*Berliner Wohlfahrts Vereinigung*) the membership is being restricted to those who have met the state requirements.

THE *Revue Philanthropique* of October 15, 1926, contains an account of a preliminary conference called in Paris late in September by the League of Red Cross Societies on the subject of an international conference of social work. Representatives of the United States included Dr. W. J. French, of the Commonwealth Fund; Dr. Selskar Gunn, of the Rockefeller Foundation; and Miss Mary Van Kleeck, of the Russell Sage Foundation. An organizing committee was formed with Dr. Alice Masaryk, president, and Dr. René Sand, secretary. A recent news sheet of the United States Children's Bureau announces that the International Congress of Public and Private Welfare and an International Child Welfare Congress and the proposed International Conference of Social Work will probably all meet in Paris during the first two weeks in July, 1928. The International Child Welfare Congress is planned with a view to bringing about greater unity in international child welfare work and is being organized jointly by the International Union for Child Welfare (created in Brussels in 1905), the International Association for Child Protection (created in Brussels in 1921), and the League of Red Cross Societies, to meet in Paris in the summer of 1928. The International Save-the-Children Fund (created in Geneva in 1920), although not officially represented on the organization committee, will be represented at the congress and will defer its own congress till another year. The congress will be divided into three sections: (1) Health, (2) Dependent Children, (3) Delinquent Children.

The International Congress of Public and Private Welfare is an old organization, which has not held any meetings since the war. The proposed International Conference of Social Work is a new enterprise.

JANE ADDAMS and her work were honored at a great dinner in Chicago on January 20, which gave fourteen hundred of her friends an opportunity to express their gratitude for her fine leadership and their allegiance to the principles which she has advocated with so much courage and devotion. It was in a sense a welcome home after her recent attendance on four international European conferences, but it was also much more than that. It is now thirty-eight years—a little more than the span of a generation—since Miss Addams began her great adventure in the field of social service. In its beginning it was an adventure in friend-

liness with little hope of that quick widening of "the settlement horizon" which she helped to celebrate in Paris last summer.

The president of the United States sent his tribute to Miss Addams in the form of a letter from the White House, which was read at the dinner. The Democratic governor of New York and the Republican governor of Massachusetts were also among those who sent their greetings, and the mayor of Chicago expressed the appreciation of the great city that has been so honored by her citizenship.

The president of the City Club, Henry P. Chandler, who was the "keynote" speaker, presented the work of Miss Addams as that of the true liberal in modern society; Judge Hugo Pam paid tribute to her service in behalf of immigrant groups; and Professor Merriam, of the University of Chicago, discussed humorously but gratefully her contribution to the social and political thought of her generation.

The daughter of pioneers of the old "middle border," Miss Addams has been essentially a pioneer in social thought and action, and she has lived to see old social and spiritual frontiers advance and disappear with the growth of the new social order.

It was entirely fitting and proper that the honor of presiding at the dinner should fall to Julia C. Lathrop, another distinguished daughter of Illinois, who is, nationally and internationally, scarcely less honored than her chief.

A CENTENARY of interest to social workers which was celebrated in Paris last October commemorated the services of Dr. Philippe Pinel (1745-1826), who first introduced into Europe humane methods of dealing with the insane. In 1791 he published an early treatise on the subject and was appointed physician at the Bicêtre in the following year. In 1794 he also became physician at the Salpêtrière. Under his direction in both of these institutions "therapeutic methods, humane and gentle, were substituted for the old methods of barbarism."

The French weekly, *l'Illustration*, in the issue of October 23, 1926, published a commemorative article in honor of the "philanthropist and physician," who is quite properly called "libérateur des aliénés." The famous fresco in the hall of the Académie de Médecine in the Rue Bonaparte in Paris is reproduced, showing Pinel in the act of ordering the removal of the chains from the wretched lunatics who were crowded in the old prison of the Bicêtre.

The tragedy of Pinel's work is the slow progress made in the better care of the insane in spite of his magnificent demonstration of the

use of curative methods. A quarter of a century after Pinel's death, one of his pupils, in writing of the condition of the insane, said: "These unfortunate people are treated worse than criminals, reduced to a condition worse than that of animals. . . . I have seen them in their narrow and filthy cells, without light and air, fastened with chains in these dens in which one would not keep wild beasts. This I have seen in France, and the insane are everywhere in Europe treated in the same way."

The memorial of Dorothea Dix, published as a document in this *Review* (p. 117), shows that this was true in the United States as well as in Europe, and in spite of the fact that the work of the English Quaker, William Tuke, whose work antedated that of Pinel, was well known in this country. The slow progress made in adopting better methods of care for the insane is one of the tragedies of the nineteenth century.

A REMARKABLE example of newspaper publicity in aid of organized charity is the annual appeal made at the Christmas season by one of our great American newspapers in behalf of the "neediest cases" known to six large relief societies in New York City. These societies are the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, the Charity Organization Society, the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, the State Charities Aid Association, the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies, and the Catholic Charities. On December 5, 1926, the fifteenth annual appeal was made, and the histories of the one hundred cases selected from among those submitted by the six societies as the "neediest cases" were published in brief summary form. As in previous years, the privacy of the families was carefully safeguarded and all identifying data removed from the published histories. The sums raised in this way have gradually increased from \$3,630 in 1912 to \$278,139 in the current year.

The fact that approximately 13,000 persons responded to this newspaper appeal shows that it is an important piece of educational work. On the day when the "hundred neediest" were first presented, the newspaper issued a challenge to its public, saying:

No reader should pass by the stories told on this and the following pages. Here he will learn how others suffer and here he will find the opportunity of helping them.

For those who live in comfort and in health—for all who are not stricken as are the neediest—there is a summons in these stories. They are the tales of people to whom misfortune has come through no fault of their own, and no one can read of them without thinking "There, but for the grace of God, go I."

The method of the appeal is interesting. There is no solicitation of contributions. There is only the publication of the brief stories of distress; and the gifts represent a quick, generous gesture to those in need. "Such responses," in the opinion of those who issue the appeal, "bring about two inestimable benefits. They give succor to people who, through no fault of their own, have come to misfortune. And they also provide the means of fulfilling the exhilarating impulse of a spontaneous and voluntary act of good will."

The following letter, written by the distinguished president of the New York Charity Organization Society on the last day of the old year, will be of general interest:

To the Editor of The New York Times:

I congratulate *The Times* on the continued success of its "Neediest Cases" appeal and the unprecedented number of responses which that appeal has evoked. You have indeed founded an institution. You have earned the trust and confidence of the people, and they know through you how to give their charitable impulses free play. Not only so but you have encouraged the community to look to organized charity as the wisest administrator of such charitable relief as individuals cannot undertake to administer themselves. Even more, you have taught the lesson of wise charity, the fundamental principle of which is to bring into play not only the heart but the mind, and to give adequate amounts likely to insure ultimate self-respect and self-dependence.

I know that some of my friends abhor "organized charity." They tell me that they prefer to administer their charity themselves. I answer that this is because they do not understand the kind of aid the Charity Organization Society and societies operated on like principles are giving. I tell them, moreover, that if they can and will administer their charity themselves, that is just what "organized charity" would urge them to do. It is by far the best way of doing it, if (and that "if" should be printed in capitals) only they have the necessary knowledge and time at their disposal.

The first principle of such charity as the C.O.S. administers is to establish personal relations between those who give and those to whom given. "Not alms, but a friend" is the motto. This does not mean that alms are not necessary in true friendly service. That alms are necessary is proven by the sums required to aid some of *The Times'* Neediest Cases. But the emphasis should be on the "friend."

The reason why even the closest friends often need organized charity to help them is because few friends, with all their good intent, know the charitable resources of the community and how to obtain access to them, and because few friends have the time and the patience necessary to restore dependent families to independence. The effort sometimes takes months and years, with intimate

knowledge of all our city's charitable resources. Our district agents and social workers have the time and the knowledge. It is their business to have both. That is why I and others call on them to do what we cannot always undertake to do ourselves.

ROBERT W. DE FOREST

THE sesquicentennial of the publication of the *Wealth of Nations* was celebrated in the year just passed with many a *Festschrift* and lecture course. Indeed, there were times in university circles when the year 1776 seemed to belong to Adam Smith rather than to the "Signers." In the general celebration, however, it should not be overlooked that social workers, too, have a stake in the *Wealth of Nations*. Adam Smith had a sympathetic understanding of the needs of the poor that is rare among economists of any age or nation. Not only in the famous chapter "Of the Wages of Labour," but in his discussion of the effect of the poor-law regulations of the eighteenth century, he showed an ultra-modern feeling for the poor man's rights. The Law of Settlement he condemned for all time:

To remove a man who has committed no misdemeanour from the parish where he chooses to reside, is an evident violation of natural liberty and justice. The common people of England, however, so jealous of their liberty, but like the common people of most other countries never rightly understanding wherein it consists, have now for more than a century together suffered themselves to be exposed to this oppression without a remedy. . . . There is scarce a poor man in England of forty years of age, I venture to say, who has not in some part of his life felt himself most cruelly oppressed by this ill-contrived law of settlements [Book I, chap. x, Part II].

LOUISA LEE SCHUYLER (1837-1926)

LOUISA LEE SCHUYLER, who died in October at the age of eighty-nine years, will be remembered as one of the great pioneers in state charitable work. At the age of twenty-three she was a volunteer teacher in one of the schools of the Children's Aid Society of New York. During the Civil War she was an able and effective worker in the Sanitary Commission, the organization that preceded the Red Cross. After the war she became interested in the New York almshouses, and finally became the founder of the New York State Charities Aid Society. Associated with her in the early work of the Society were Charles Loring Brace, Professor Theodore W. Dwight, Theodore Roosevelt (the father of President Roosevelt), and Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell. Miss Schuyler was often compared with Florence Nightingale, and there was some justification for

the comparison. Miss Schuyler, like Miss Nightingale, came from a family of wealth and social position, and her public career was in opposition to the conventions of the group to which she belonged. Like Miss Nightingale, too, she was one of the leaders in the movement for nursing education, and she established in 1874 the first training school for nurses in this country in connection with Bellevue Hospital, New York. The *New York Times*, in an editorial, said of her:

The capacity for leadership was doubly hers by inheritance. No woman of her generation in New York did more in initiating and carrying forward constructive reforms in the public care of the sick of body or mind, the poor and helpless. These reforms have become "the commonplaces of modern philanthropy" and have been embodied in laws of many states as well as her own state. . . . She is the last as she was the greatest of that group of noble women who thirty years ago transformed New York's philanthropy.

THOMAS MOTT OSBORNE (1859-1926)

IN THE death of Thomas Mott Osborne the American prison-reform movement has lost the greatest figure in its history. A Harvard graduate in the class of 1884, Mr. Osborne was closely associated with his father's manufacturing business until its sale in 1903 to the International Harvester Company. He was successful not only in business but in local and state politics before he became interested in "the state of the prisons." In 1913 he was appointed chairman of a Commission on Prison Reform in the state of New York, and from that time until his death he served the cause of prison reform with rare devotion and ability.

His interest in prison conditions began, however, at an earlier date. In 1896 he became acquainted with the George Junior Republic at Freeville, New York, and subsequently served for more than fifteen years as president of its board of trustees. He said later that it was Mr. William R. George who first suggested to him that the principle of self-government might work as successfully in a prison as it had in Freeville, and in 1904 Mr. Osborne spoke for the first time before the American Prison Association, at its Albany meeting, on the subject "The True Foundation for Prison Reform." In this address he quoted Gladstone's famous words on the Irish question, "It is liberty alone that fits men for liberty." On that principle he built up his theory of prison discipline. His first acquaintance with Sing Sing prison came through his interest in the case of a young boy of thirteen who, in the days before the organization of the juvenile court, had been sentenced to Sing Sing for twenty years at the

age of thirteen, and whose release to the George Junior Republic Mr. Osborne secured.

Mr. Osborne had the defects of his virtues. He had flashes of insight, and when he saw a great wrong and the way to do away with it, he was all for immediate action. Given the opportunity, he would have applied to prison administration the efficiency methods of his business experience. But the mills of the gods grind slowly in social reform. There are so many interests to be served by inaction and delay; so few to press the cause of the under dog. Mr. Osborne had also a sense of the dramatic which was both a great asset and a liability. His self-imprisonment experiment in the oldest of the state prisons of New York was an illustration of this method of attack, described in his book *Within Prison Walls*.

His greatest opportunity for service came with his appointment as warden of Sing Sing prison in December, 1914. He swiftly moved to abolish all of the old system of prison discipline that could be abolished in an antiquated plant like Sing Sing. Few social workers who attended the Indianapolis meeting of the National Conference of Social Work in the spring of 1915 will ever forget the evening when he delivered his stirring address on "Prison Discipline and Character Building." An indictment on behalf of the prisoner against the state of New York, it was a challenge to the social workers of the country to rise and destroy the old cruelties, injustices, and absurdities that make the American prison system a national disgrace.

In 1916 he held the Dodge Lectureship at Yale, taking as his subject "Society and Prisons." These lectures were later published in book form by the Yale University Press in the series of "Yale Lectures on the Responsibilities of Citizenship." Partisan attacks made his career at Sing Sing a turbulent one, and he was for a time under indictment. During the war, Secretary Daniels had the wisdom and vision to give Mr. Osborne the opportunity to reform the naval prison at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. He became a lieutenant commander in the Naval Reserve in 1917 and was in command at Portsmouth from 1917 until his resignation in 1920.

He preached the gospel of prison reform ardently and persuasively, not only throughout the length and breadth of his own country, but in Europe as well. European delegates to the first meeting of the International Penitentiary Congress after the war, which was held in London in 1925, repeatedly asked for "Mr. Mott Osborne," whom they considered our most distinguished advocate of prison reform, and American delegates found it hard to explain why he was not present.

LEILA HOUGHTELING (1889-1927)

IT is with a sense of great personal loss that we record the early death of Leila Houghteling, one of the younger members of the editorial staff of this *Review*. She had been a conspicuous figure in the civic and social life of Chicago since her graduation from Bryn Mawr College in 1911. She was born into social and religious service, for her family had for three generations been active in the work of St. James's parish and had been identified with the work of many social and civic organizations. But she had a thoroughly professional interest in social work, and it was typical of her day and generation that although she came from a family of wealth and influence, she joined the fellowship of social workers who earned their bread. In the years from 1911 to 1922 she served on the staff of the County Bureau of Public Welfare, the Juvenile Court, and the United Charities of Chicago. She was for several years superintendent of the Haymarket district of the Charities, which includes some of the old river wards, the "homeless men" regions, and immigrants of nationalities too numerous to mention.

Short her life was, but it was also widely spacious with room for varied interests. She had been vice-president of the national Bryn Mawr Alumnae Association and had been one of the founders of the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women in Industry. She was chairman of the Industrial Committee of the Young Women's Christian Association, and she was identified with the work of the Women's Trade Union League, the Woman's City Club, the American Association of University Women, the Chicago Council of Social Agencies, the American Association of Social Workers. She was also a member of the Board of the Immigrants' Protective League, and she had given devoted service on the Board of the United Charities and had been its secretary during the past year.

In a life full of action she found time for hard study, and she thoroughly believed that patient scholarship and sound learning, as well as ideals of service, were needed to solve our social problems. From 1922 until the time of her death she was connected with the University of Chicago, where she was for several years a Fellow of the University, taking the Ph.D. degree in the Graduate School of Social Service Administration. Later she joined the Faculty of the School and was made Dean in the College of Arts and Literature.

Her life went out when it was at high tide and she was full of ardent hopes and plans for the future. Her early death is a heavy loss, not only to the University, but to the larger community which she served so gallantly.

BOOK REVIEWS

Has Poverty Diminished? (A sequel to *Livelihood and Poverty*.) By A. L. BOWLEY and MARGARET H. HOGG. London: P. S. King & Son, 1925. Pp. viii+236. 12s. 6d.

Three notable attempts have been made in England to determine by intensive field inquiries the percentage of the population of a selected community living "in poverty." The first of these was Mr. Charles Booth's great study of London poverty, the results of which were published at intervals from 1887 to 1902 as papers in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*¹ and in the seventeen volumes of *Life and Labour of the People in London*. In 1901 Mr. B. Seebohm Rowntree published his statistics for York (*Poverty: a Study of Town Life*); and in 1915 Professor Bowley and his students added in *Livelihood and Poverty* statistics for five other English towns: Northampton, Warrington, Stanley, Reading, and Bolton.² The present volume is a sequel to *Livelihood and Poverty*, but for both volumes the line of descent may be traced directly back to the earlier English poverty studies.

Certain changes in methods of social investigation in the forty years since Mr. Booth began collecting his statistics are illustrated in these inquiries. All the studies are statistical. Mr. Booth set out to collect the data necessary to determine the relative proportion of "poverty" in all London and in the different sections of London, "to show the numerical relation which poverty, misery, and depravity bear to regular earnings and comparative comfort." Seeking "the facts" regarding London poverty, he determined to explore the rich mine of material that he believed existed in the records of the school attendance officers, and his famous poverty percentages were based on the classification according to poverty of the families known to these officers. "The root idea" with which he began was that every fact he needed "was known to someone and that the information had simply to be collected and put together." Mr. Booth assumed that for his purposes the families known to the attendance officers constituted a satisfactory sample of the London population. Forty-six books of notes were filled with data secured from the school visitors, covering every house and every family with children of school age in no less than 3,400 London streets.

The most interesting feature of Mr. Booth's method, however, was his refusal to collect any data directly from the families themselves. He relied exclusively on such records and supplementary information as the attendance

¹ See Vol. L, pp. 326-91, and Vol. LI, pp. 276-331. These papers were largely incorporated in the first edition of *Life and Labour*, published in 1892.

² The Bolton study was not included in the first edition.

officers had in their possession. In the beginning of the inquiry it was a rule that not until all the data had been collected for a district would he or his investigators even visit the streets "amongst which they had been living in imagination." Later they made it a practice to visit the streets, but never the homes. "With the insides of the houses or their inmates," he wrote, "there was no attempt to meddle. To have done so would have been an unwarrantable impertinence. . . ." Not only did he refuse to visit the homes, but he also refused to ask the school visitors to obtain any information especially for him or his investigators, depending entirely on the data secured by these public officials "in a natural way in the discharge of their duties."

In contrast, Mr. Rowntree's investigators visited the home of every working-class family in York. Most of the work was done by a single investigator, who, in modern fashion, "went systematically from house to house." It is not necessary here to discuss Mr. Rowntree's findings, but certain questions regarding the accuracy of the data secured in this way are of interest. Leaders in the London Charity Organization Society attacked Mr. Rowntree's poverty percentages and the theory of the "poverty line" on the ground that an investigator, on the basis of a single visit, more or less brief, could not secure data sufficiently adequate and accurate to justify classifying the families visited according to different grades of poverty. On this ground Mrs. Bosanquet¹ and Mr. Loch² vigorously attacked both the Booth and the Rowntree statistics.

It was significant therefore that a distinguished statistician like Professor Bowley adopted, more than a decade later, the Rowntree method of securing data. The new features of Professor Bowley's plan were the introduction of a method of random sampling and the securing of information regarding the composition of working-class households. Professor Bowley's plan involved the scheduling of every twentieth house on every working-class street in each of the towns selected for study. The result, he believed, constituted a random sample of the population. As a matter of fact, instead of every twentieth house, "approximately one working-class house" in twenty-three was visited in Northampton, one house in nineteen at Warrington, one house in seventeen at Stanley, and one house in twenty-one at Reading. This new method of Professor Bowley's, which yielded results more rapidly and less expensively than the Rowntree method, was useful also because comparative data could be obtained from time to time with relatively little difficulty.

Professor Bowley attempts to answer the question "Has poverty dimin-

¹ See review by H. Bosanquet of *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, in the *Charity Organization Review* (London), new series, XI, 260-66; H. Bosanquet, "The 'Poverty Line,'" *ibid.*, XIII, 9-23; and also *ibid.*, XIII, 321-23, a final reply to Mr. Rowntree by Mrs. Bosanquet. See also Helen Bosanquet, "Physical Degeneration and the Poverty Line," *Contemporary Review*, LXXXV (1904), 65-75.

² See especially the memorandum submitted by Mr. (later Sir Charles) Loch in *Great Britain Interdepartmental Report on Physical Deterioration* (1904), Appendix III.

ished?" by investigating the same towns after an interval of approximately ten years, using as nearly as possible the same methods.

His new volume contains the detailed results of the recanvass of the five selected towns, with an interesting chapter on "Definitions and General Procedure," including a note on the method of sampling and an introductory chapter in which he summarizes and briefly interprets his findings.

The dominating events in the new period, the fall of the birth-rate, the loss of life by the war, the rise in prices and the more rapid rise of weekly money wages for unskilled labor, and unemployment are, according to Professor Bowley, "matters of common knowledge for the country as a whole." The new inquiry seeks to provide a means of estimating how far the changes in wages and in personnel have affected the proportion of persons who are in a condition of poverty. Space is lacking to discuss Professor Bowley's conclusions. In general he finds the improvement since 1913 "very striking." "Even on the assumption that all the families suffering from unemployment in a particular week had no adequate reserves, and that their unemployment was chronic, the proportion in poverty in 1924 was little more than half that in 1913" (p. 16).

Professor Bowley recalls that in *Livelihood and Poverty* the opinion had been expressed that "to raise the wages of the worst-paid workers is the most pressing social task with which the country is confronted today." Now he adds, "It has needed a war to do it, but that task has been accomplished, so far as rates of wages are concerned, though employment has not yet been permanently possible for all at these rates."

Professor Bowley's volume, on the whole, is one of great importance to those interested in research methods as well as to the larger group who are studying living and working conditions.

E. ABBOTT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Children's Courts. By W. CLARKE HALL. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1926. Pp. 287. 7s. 6d.

The publication of this book, which is really an enlarged and revised edition of Mr. Clarke Hall's earlier book on *The State and the Child*, will be welcomed by all students of the juvenile court movement and particularly by those interested in the treatment of delinquent children by the juvenile court.

The earlier volume contained chapters on "The Delinquent Child," "Children's Courts," "Reformatory and Industrial Schools," "Probation," "The Illegitimate Child," and "Social Experiments." To these the writer has added chapters on "Causes of Delinquency," "Methods of Treatment," "Remand Homes," "Certified Schools," "Parental Relationships," "Children's Courts as They Might Be," and perhaps most important, a summary of "Conclusions" that may well be taken as the program of the group concerned in Great Britain for the development of this work. Both volumes contain appendixes giving interesting statistical data with reference to the court over which the author pre-

sides and, in the later volume, with reference to the juvenile courts throughout England.

It is unnecessary here to call attention to the fact that the juvenile court movement is the expression of what may be called a world-wide effort to adapt the methods and practices of the criminal law to the needs of children who either violate the law or are found in circumstances indicating serious danger to their conduct or character. For not only has legislation to this end been enacted in every state in the United States, but laws have been passed and modifications of the judicial procedure brought about in Great Britain, in eleven European countries, and in South Africa, the Australian Commonwealth, India, and Japan.

Mr. Clarke Hall has been for many years metropolitan magistrate and president of the juvenile court in Shoreditch, which he describes as a "terribly poor district containing a million population." His contribution has especial value for several reasons. The first is perhaps because a comprehensive view of the subject should include both the strictly legal and the definitely social aspects of the subject.

The social aspects are frequently dealt with in the discussions of probation officers, and family welfare and child welfare workers who have to deal with the child and with the environment which may have caused his delinquency. A sound discussion of the legal aspects is, however, not so easy to obtain. In the United States, students of the subject are indebted to several of the judges who have devoted their attention both to the administrative aspects of the court's work and to the constitutional questions involved in any development of the judicial organization. The names of Judge Harvey Humphrey Baker, Judge Julian W. Mack, and Judge Frederick P. Cabot suggest themselves at once. To Mr. Bernard Flexner, formerly of Kentucky, now of the New York bar, a debt is also owing for his presentation of the legal and constitutional bases of the court.

The discussion in the United States is rendered especially complicated and difficult by the various constitutional questions embodied, for example, in the provisions of the bills of rights in the state constitutions and the questions of the relation of the newer adaptations to the older law-enforcing machinery. The juvenile court judge usually does not find it possible carefully to scrutinize the results of his own work or the work of the court so as to criticize constructively either legislative changes that are proposed or the agencies and institutions with which the court co-operates and on which it must depend. The fact that in England the magistrate is appointed for life; that he is part of a national, not simply a nation-wide, system; that he has before him statistics covering the entire country, enables him to speak with a certainty, an independence, and a directness not possible in the United States.

The juvenile court under the present British statute is still a children's criminal court, and the English legislation still includes and contemplates the use of punishment in dealing with young as well as with older offenders. Mr. Clarke Hall, therefore, finds it necessary to declare the principles which he thinks applicable to the treatment of the children with whom he has to deal:

1. Punishment which is merely retributive is, in the case of children, wholly inadmissible.

2. Punishment as a deterrent, both to the delinquent himself and to others, is admissible. Even assuming in full the determinist theory that a human being has no free will and consequently no direct responsibility for his actions, a new factor can be introduced by the sentence of a court which will influence and modify those actions.

3. In the case of children, at all events, the principle of reformation should be dominant.

4. In order to secure that reformation it is essential that the juvenile courts should acquire all possible information as to the causes of delinquency in the individual child.

5. These causes may be roughly divided into external and inherent. It is with the former that the juvenile court is principally concerned. Its duty where such causes exist is to take the necessary steps to change the environment of the child. The duty of the scientist is to determine and treat the inherent causes, but, in order that this may be done, the court must be informed of the existence of these inherent causes, although it possesses neither the necessary knowledge nor experience to determine their nature.

The external causes, with which he finds it necessary to deal, he classifies under the following categories: Parental Neglect, Bad Housing, Bad Companions, Want of Rational Amusement, Defective Education, Want of Employment, Special Temptations, and Poverty.

Since the publication of the earlier volume much work has been done in the direction of better diagnosis of the child's mental and emotional nature, and full use is made here of the studies of Professor Cyril Burt, of the Education Department of the London County Council, whose *Mental and Scholastic Tests* and *Young Delinquent* are widely known in the United States. The discussion of the children who come before the court is especially illuminating. In the first place, Mr. Clarke Hall is very jealous for those children to whom the court might be, but is not, of service, and he points out the very great discrepancy between the number of children who must be in danger and the number brought before the magistrate, as well as the considerable numbers charged with offenses against the law who are in no way delinquent. He is, therefore, deeply concerned to improve the methods employed by the police in dealing with children.

On the subject of treatment, what he has to say of the use of "birching" and of "fines" has special interest. On the subject of flogging, his experience and observation lead him to say that "for the past six years, I have sentenced no boy to be birched, and I know of no circumstances which would induce me to pass this sentence again" (p. 80). As to fines, which in England do not always involve criminality, he thinks their use, if combined with probation, desirable even for more serious offenses. The English law at present makes this often impossible, and the American theory, that the procedure is equitable and not criminal, prevents the frank use of the fine. However, in the form of "restitution" the same effect is often obtained.

In England, as in certain of the American states, the sectarian influence is felt both in the selection of the probation staff and in the organization of institutions to which the children are committed when institutional care is found

necessary. On the subject of the use of private institutions, Mr. Clarke Hall expresses himself in vigorous terms. He thinks that the institutions should all be under direct state control, so that they may be carefully and with increasing exactness specialized to meet the needs of the children. His principle of selection would be neither what the child has done nor what group has organized the school, but what, with the help of a particular institution, the child may become (p. 162). In the matter of probation, the increased use of which he urges on the magistrates of the country, the important point is higher educational requirements and a greater use of women officers.

There has been in the United States some discussion as to whether or not legal training and legal experience are necessary for juvenile court judges, and in one commonwealth (North Carolina, *Session Laws* [1919], chap. 97), legislation has been enacted under which the clerk of the court is designated as juvenile-court judge. Such a discussion, however, as Mr. Clarke Hall's illustrates the very great contribution that can be made by the judicial mind working sympathetically upon the complicated social and not always simple legal problems presented by the attempt so to readjust the judicial machinery as to express the parental relationship of the community to the child, rather than the earlier claim of the community to enforce through punishment its alleged interests against the antisocial conduct of the young offender.

S. P. B.

The Repression of Crime. By HARRY ELMER BARNES. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1926. Pp. 382. \$2.50 net.

This volume is a compilation of previously published materials with a brief summary appended. As is likely to be the case when a number of articles on related subjects by the same author are combined in a single volume, unless very careful editing has been done, there results a certain amount of rather irksome reiteration as well as a lack of continuity and coherence. The subject matter of the book appears to have been determined on the basis of what was available, viz., the recently published articles of Dr. Barnes bearing upon criminology and penology. After a quite detailed and valuable review of the development of American penology and jurisprudence as illustrated by the experience of Pennsylvania, there appears a section on "The History of Prison Labor," followed by a discussion called "How Prisons Punish the Human Mind," this, in turn, being followed by a biting condemnation of the jury system. The last reprint which appears is taken from the *Journal of Social Forces* and is a review of some of the recent literature in the field. These two latter chapters and the introductory chapter (reprinted from the *New York Times Current History Magazine* for December, 1924, and to which the title "Crime Complex" was attached) seem to have been introduced in order to fill out the volume and to add a certain zest to the somewhat less challenging, but more valuable, section of the book.

The original contribution which these collected essays make to the literature of criminology and penology lies in the historical material which is presented in chapters ii to vii. The part played by the Quakers and others in Pennsylvania in the development both of penology and of criminal jurisprudence in the United States, though long recognized as important, has probably never been thoroughly understood before. The historical facts surrounding the emergence of the two great prison systems and the influence of the Pennsylvania system upon the development of the Auburn system is another of the items upon which Dr. Barnes's researches throw considerable light. This section of the book should prove to be a valuable source of information to all persons interested in early developments in American criminology and penology.

The other essays included are well written and contain pertinent criticism and suggestion, but present no new ideas. Kirchwey, Pound, Healy, Glueck, White, Osborne, and others have again and again sounded the keynote of the new criminology and penology of which Dr. Barnes writes. The most vital principles involved seem so far from practical expression in our laws and institutions, however, that their reiteration and restatement in this book are by no means amiss.

The author in presenting the materials in this volume adopts the rôle of reformer as well as historian. In the Preface he says of the purpose of the book:

The present work is not intended as a general textbook on criminology and penology. There are already admirable manuals on this subject. Rather, the aim is here to present those historical facts which will constitute the only intelligent background against which to begin the systematic study of criminal science in its present stage of development. It is hoped that this genetic survey may serve better to indicate the defects of the present and to suggest lines of departure for an improvement of future methods.

Dr. Barnes's sense of the dramatic and his challenging literary style are tremendous aids to the interest of the reader.

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My Apprenticeship. By BEATRICE WEBB. New York: Longmans, Green & Company, 1926. Pp. 442. \$6.00.

The appearance of an American edition of Beatrice Potter's (Mrs. Sidney Webb's) *My Apprenticeship* is an event of importance, especially for students of social service administration. Few writers of our time have been so dynamically identified with the series of English social activities as Mrs. Webb. Beginning with the Charity Organization Society, which she later left as unequal to London poverty, and then trying Octavia Hill's rent collecting, through years of friendship with Canon and Mrs. Barnett and Toynbee Hall, co-operating with Charles Booth in what she calls "a grand inquest into the condition of the people of London," followed by years of preparation for writing what ultimately became

the final history of English co-operation—all this narrative is an invaluable chapter in the intellectual and industrial history of England.

It was not until 1888 that she avowed herself a Socialist. In 1892 began the period to which she refers as "Our Partnership," when her apprenticeship ended. This was the year of the death of her father, and her marriage to Sidney Webb.

This book is an important revelation both of the author's experience and of the era with which she deals, 1862-92. For Americans the story of her childhood and early girlhood is more significant than for English readers accustomed to the atmosphere of English home life in those years.

Mrs. Webb's father, Mr. Richard Potter, the writer of these lines had the pleasure of meeting in London in 1879. His occupation as financier of great engineering undertakings, especially railways, chiefly in Canada, brought him repeatedly to this country. The transatlantic and transcontinental range of his activities from London and Paris to Vancouver could not fail to broaden the horizon of this, the most sympathetic and comprehending of his nine daughters. The early expansion of her mind was enhanced by a journey from London to California in 1882, Mr. Potter being then president of the Grand Trunk Railway. On this occasion, however, they traveled across the United States.

Of extraordinary interest because of their effect upon her developing mind was her contact with a large number of significant men in the church, in philosophy, in science and politics. Among these were Canon Barnett, Herbert Spencer, her cousin Charles Booth, Francis Galton, Darwin, Huxley, Frederick Harrison, Sidney Webb, and the other Fabians.

Next to her father, the man who seems to have exercised the greatest influence upon Miss Potter's youth was Herbert Spencer, an intimate guest in their home. An enlightening strand in the thread of her intellectual life was her early acceptance of his individualist interpretation of the teachings of Darwin, and her painful struggle in Spencer's declining years when he was shrinking intellectually and morally, and she was slowly and inevitably tending toward the English form of evolutionary Socialism. Of him she states that, by the time she became his intellectual companion, his *First Principles* had ceased to be hypotheses:

They had become a highly developed, dogmatic creed with regard to the evolution of life. . . . Herbert Spencer was, in fact, engaged in the art of casuistry, and it was in this art that for a time I became his apprentice—or was it his accomplice? . . . What I learned was not how to observe—for he was the most gullible of mortals and never scrutinized the accuracy of my tales—but whether the sample facts I brought him came "within the law" he wished to illustrate. . . . What he taught me to discern was not the truth, but the relevance of facts, a gift said to be rare in a woman, and of untold importance to the social investigator confronted with masses of data—ascertained facts, significant and insignificant, relevant and irrelevant. . . . (pp. 26-27).

Nothing could be more candid than Miss Potter's analysis of her own limitations:

In choosing the craft of social investigator I proved once for all that I had no genius, for I had neither aptitude nor liking for much of the technique of sociology—some would say, for the vital parts of it. I had, for instance, no gifts for that rapid reading and judgment of original documents which is indispensable to the historian, though by sheer persistence and long practice I acquired this faculty. . . . As for the use of figures, whether mathematical or statistical, I might as well have attempted to turn water into wine. . . . I note in passing that comprehending, recollecting, and afterward recording complicated series of facts gathered in conversation is part of the technique of a social investigator, and I owe the skill I had as an interviewer to preliminary practice with my father, having acted, off and on, as his private secretary and confidential attendant (p. 110).

After several years divided between life in London society and the effort to arrive at an occupation in the field of the social sciences satisfying to her mind and spirit, Miss Potter announces on June 3, 1883, her withdrawal from social functions for 1884-85, in order to spend her free time as rent collector in the East End of London. "The time-spirit had at last seized me and compelled me to concentrate all my free energy in getting the training and the raw material for applied sociology; that is, for research into the constitution and working of social organization, with a view to bettering the life and labor of the people."

The reviewer finds herself eagerly anticipating the second volume of this great autobiography, which will cover the most important period in the entire history of the English social reform movement.

FLORENCE KELLEY

NATIONAL CONSUMERS' LEAGUE
NEW YORK

A Short History of the British Working-Class Movement, 1789-1925. By

G. D. H. COLE. Vol. I, 1789-1848; Vol. II, 1848-1900. London:

George Allen & Unwin Ltd. and the Labour Publishing Co. Pp. 186,
196. 6s. each. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927. 2 vols. in

one. \$4.50.

The title of this work is a bit misleading. A history that runs into three volumes has small claim to the adjective "short." And the term "working-class movement" with its implication of unity and purpose gives no hint that these books deal with a score or more workers' organizations in which unity is conspicuous by its absence. Fortunately Mr. Cole is no slave to a title. Nor even to a preface in which he stresses the essential unity of the several movements. His treatment shows their diversity and their particularism rather more clearly than it shows the grounds on which they might be considered as one.

The first volume, dealing with workers' organization prior to 1850, the reviewer found a very dull book. So much has been done, and on the whole so well done, on the period in question that it is perhaps difficult to make its treatment appear fresh. Certainly Mr. Cole does not succeed in pleasing a jaded palate by any novelty in his presentation. Against a rather hastily sketched

background of the coming of industrialism, and capitalism, and the influence of the French Revolution in Great Britain, he tells the story of an oppressed group who struggled intermittently and through various organizations to throw off their chains. The word "chains" is used advisedly. For as told in this book, the struggle is always a class struggle. The reader is certainly left with the impression that the masters who forged those chains knew quite well what they were doing and were cruel by design and intent. Perhaps they were, but other explanations are equally plausible. And on the middle-class reformers Mr. Cole is pretty hard. He sees them "using" the workers for their own ends, never as fellow-victims deluded by their own ideas. He has no sympathies to waste on men of the middle class who pursued will-o'-the-wisps which they thought, in all sincerity, would lead to the promised land.

The second volume, taking up the story after the decline of Chartism, is a much more useful book. It is something to have the histories of trade unions, co-operatives, friendly societies, working-class clubs, the international workmen's associations, and political organizations all brought together within the compass of 200 pages. But it is more to have them placed against the background of "The Golden Age of Capitalism" and "Self-Help in the Victorian Era." These two sections go far to explain how it happened that the different organizations rose in the form that they did, and they show perhaps better than anything in print the spiritual relations between the different organizations and their kinship to their times. One may, if one will, contrast Mr. Cole's treatment of the trade unions of the seventies, when union leaders became thoroughly "respectable," with their treatment at the hands of Mr. and Mrs. Webb. The Webb explanation of this phenomenon runs largely in terms of the Sheffield outrages and the Trade Union Commission which followed. The Cole explanation runs back to the relatively good position of the workers and the door to better things which was ajar, if not wide open. All this is to the good, and so too is the ray of light which Mr. Cole sheds on the dark land of the political clubs of the sixties and seventies. To be sure he has not done enough to make the dark places light. But he has given a hint of the significance of organizations hitherto largely ignored.

With all its merit, however, the second volume is none too easy to read. Mr. Cole as always writes lucidly and occasionally vividly. "O'Connor—hot as hell; Sidney Webb—cool as a cucumber" may or may not be to one's taste; it is surely vivid. But a book about organizations is, perhaps necessarily, concerned with details about organization which often seem meaningless. It is hard sometimes to remember that men and women were in any way concerned. Names, to be sure, are sprinkled freely throughout both volumes. But they are mere names. Even Keir Hardie, a colorful figure if ever there was one, sheds all color before he appears in these pages. Perhaps that is a penalty of a short history. The Webbs, with more time, often paused to give a picture of the men who played significant rôles in trade-union history.

There are other features of the work with which a reviewer might quarrel:

bits of detail here and there, the selection of this item rather than another, preconceptions major and minor, and above all an arrangement which leaves to the end of each volume a picture of the conditions of life for the workers. But the task attempted was a difficult one, and on the whole it has been carried out with success. If one wants to study workers' organizations by themselves, with just enough of the industry, politics, and ideas of the times to serve as background, and just enough of the lot of the workers to make them intelligible, he should be grateful to Mr. Cole.

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Jugendwohlfahrt und Lehrerschaft. Edited by the Deutsche Archiv für Jugendwohlfahrt with the co-operation of the Deutsche Lehrerverein. Berlin: F. A. Herbig, 1926. Pp. 316. M. 5.

This volume provides an interesting and helpful description of child welfare work in Germany. The first part of the book contains a convenient codification of German juvenile legislation. The remainder is composed of papers on various aspects of child welfare work written by authorities in the fields of teaching, medicine, psychology, psychiatry, and general social service. Most of these papers are of a specialized nature, the exception being the first two, written by Dr. Gertrude Bäumer, of the Department of the Interior, and dealing with the "Organization of Child Welfare Work."

In these two papers Dr. Bäumer explains the development, functions, and interrelations of public and private child welfare work. She sets aside the old distinction between state and family obligations to the child—namely, that the state is responsible for the "schooling," the family for everything else—by showing that the state actually helps the family in the proper bringing up of the child through various types of legislative provision, e.g., laws regarding child labor, guardianship, and the sale of tobacco and alcohol. But she points out that because these laws have been neither simultaneously enacted nor uniformly administered, nor even separately codified as juvenile laws, they have inevitably lacked both the proper recognition and effectiveness.

Not until after considerable post-war reconstruction had taken place was Germany in a position to undertake the codification of its juvenile laws. In April, 1924, the *Reichsgesetz für Jugendwohlfahrt* was enacted.¹ This was a general child welfare law and was divided into the following parts: I. General. Paragraph 1 of this section contains the keynote of the whole code: "Every German child has a right to training for physical, spiritual (mental), and social fitness." II. Child welfare authorities. III. Protection of foster children. IV.

¹ For the text of these laws see *Jugendwohlfahrt und Lehrerschaft*, pp. 1-19. They are to be distinguished from the *Jugendgerichtsgesetz* (juvenile court law) enacted in 1923, for which see *ibid.*, pp. 19-44.

Position of the *Jugendamt* in relation to legal guardianship; trusteeship of institutions and associations. V. Public support of dependent minors. VI. Protective supervision and care of minors.

For its administration the following system of offices was devised:

1. *The Jugendamt*.—This is the children's bureau in the local community. In addition to its well-defined duties as outlined in the laws, it is expected to "stimulate, foster, and in certain cases provide arrangements for" (a) consultation in affairs concerning young people, (b) supervision of mothers before and after confinement, (c) infant welfare, (d) welfare of the preschool child, (e) welfare of school child outside of classroom, (f) welfare of child no longer in school.¹

2. *The Landesjugendamt*.—This is the children's bureau in the states or provinces, functioning primarily as a unifying and organizing body and exercising limited powers of supervision. The creation of this authority was left to the individual states, since it was feared that some of them would be unable to undertake the additional financial burden. However, all of the states did establish a *Landesjugendamt*.

3. *The Reichsjugendamt*.—This would be the federal bureau. It was conceived of as a central authority embracing the entire system. It has, however, not been created.

With regard to the private or volunteer organizations, Dr. Bäumer believes that their unpopularity before the war, due to the fact that the people no longer wanted "charity," but "social service," was to a large extent responsible for the organization of public welfare work. When, however, public funds became scarce, and some of the evils of public administration were revealed, it began to be clear that there were advantages in having both types of welfare work.

The duties of the *Jugendamt* to the private organizations are defined, in part, as follows: "... To support their activities in the furtherance of child welfare, at the same time preserving their independence and their statutory character, and to stimulate them to co-operation."²

Dr. Bäumer writes several interesting paragraphs on the welfare work of religious organizations, discussing their method of approach—that of religious duty or privilege—their advantages in being pioneer organizations, and their weaknesses. Chief among the latter she finds the lack of uniformity due to the personality differences of the leaders, and also due to the fact that where welfare work grows out of a feeling of brotherly love, the amount and character of the work varies according to the amount and character of brotherly love in the community.

Of the religious organizations, the Evangelical, the Catholic, and the Jewish are the most important. Their activities are fairly similar: maintenance of various types of institutions, organization of clubs and associations for young people, information and advisory service to young travelers, etc. Because of their religious motive these organizations are especially interested in caring

¹ *Reichsgesetz für Jugendwohlfahrt*, Section 4.

² *Ibid.*, Section 6.

for the delinquent and semidelinquent children, as may be seen from the larger number of institutions given over to this type of work.

In considering the non-sectarian private organizations, Dr. Baümer points to the significance of their disinterested approach and their educational attack. She mentions the Red Cross, with its emphasis more especially on social hygiene, infant welfare, and similar health programs, and the *Arbeiterwohlfahrt*,¹ which serves the child mainly through co-operation with the public *Jugendamt*, as organizations of this type.

Representing all of these organizations in a joint effort to co-operate with the public organizations generally, and in legislation particularly, is the Central Association of the private agencies.

Lastly, there is the German *Archiv*, another federal children's bureau. Like the proposed *Reichsjugendamt*, its purpose is to gather and publish child-welfare material and to make special studies and investigations. But the *Archiv* differs from the *Reichsjugendamt* both in its joint service to public and private agencies and in its organization. Its board is composed of three members of the Department of the Interior, three members of the *Archiv* staff, and one representative each from the public and private central associations and the Central Institute for Education and Instruction. For the consideration of special problems, its constitution provides for the appointment of committees on which members of kindred or interested groups may serve. In addition to maintaining a library and a current bibliography, the *Archiv* publishes reports, books, and periodicals and helps arrange exhibits with charts and diagrams of various kinds.

One subject which has not been mentioned, but of which Dr. Baümer speaks with especial concern, is the co-operation of the schools. She believes that their co-operation has hitherto been limited largely to such measures as are actually carried out within the school, such as the provision of arrangements for school lunches, and recreation. She is hopeful, however, that with better administration of the welfare legislation the school will find its proper place in the bringing up of the child. She is especially eager for this co-operation because she feels that the school will help to popularize the idea that child welfare work is not primarily a problem of maintenance, but one of education.

MONA VOLKERT

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Zehn Jahre soziale Berufsarbeit. Berlin: F. A. Herbig Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1926. Pp. 62. M. 1.80.

This small volume, *Ten Years of Professional Social Work*, was edited by the German Association of Women Social Workers (Deutscher Verband für Sozialbeamtinnen), which completed its tenth year of service in 1926. The

¹ The *Arbeiterwohlfahrt* is a post-war organization founded on a social-democratic basis by the working people in the interest of their common welfare. It has 1,500 branch associations in Germany, with a membership of 75,000.

bulletin was written as a report, to the membership and to the public, of the work that had been accomplished during the ten years of its existence. Contributors to the report are women closely connected with the society, like Fräulein Adele Beerensson, business manager of the Association, and women who have made distinct contributions to social work, like Dr. Marie Baum, of Karlsruhe.

The report calls attention to the fact that the Association of Women Social Workers and social professional work in Germany have developed co-ordinately—that each hastened and vitalized the work of the other and both owed their existence in some measure to the tragedy of 1914-18 and the years following. The suffering during the war and its after-effects had an expanding, as well as an intensifying, effect on social welfare work.

Dr. Baum in her report distinguishes between the philosophy of the charity work of the past and that of the social welfare work of the present. She thinks one may perhaps reflect with envy upon the free, natural, and unhampered charity methods of the German forefathers, compared with what some consider the hard, cold, unrelated atmosphere of later times. "But such are only momentary reflections!"

She points out relationships between pre-war ideas regarding social service work and poor relief, and action taken by the government regarding them after the war. The idea of the final revolution in the administration of German poor relief had been embodied in principle in an unpublished report of 1914, but in 1920-24 the report appeared even more significant than before the war. "It seemed," writes Dr. Baum, "as if we had doubly and trebly experienced, under the pressure of the times, the problems involved in this situation, and everything was crowding us to take definite action. . . . The order of the Federal Council regarding relief to the families of the war indicated clearly that the garment of poor relief had become too small to care for new and larger duties."

Other topics discussed by Dr. Baum include the field of specialization as distinguished from the family approach in social welfare work; her vision regarding the social work of the future; and the background of legislation affecting social work in Germany. Dr. Baum's report alone would make the publication valuable; but it lays a foundation for the interesting report of Fräulein Beerensson, which is a description of the German Association of Women Social Workers.

The idea of organizing such an association, Miss Beerensson states, met with much opposition, one of the main objections being that persons whose work should be a conscious service to needy fellow-beings should not form a professional organization which would be concerned also with the economic interests of those who serve; others held that if volunteers in service were not to be included, it would lower their standing and efficiency. The Association, although it had a slow growth, is now well established. Eight annual meetings have been held since 1918; the chief themes discussed and the leaders in charge are presented in the Appendix of the bulletin. During the first few years the Associa-

tion consisted of about 288 members and four local organizations; in 1926 the membership totaled 3,434, with seventy-two local organizations.

Despite some post-war efforts to compel the society to unite with a large organization which was already established, the idea of remaining an independent comprehensive woman's professional organization was maintained. It has, however, joined hands with agencies having common interests with the Association, such as the Society of Evangelical Welfare Work, the Society of Catholic Professional Workers, and the Joint Society of Professional Organization of Welfare Work. Together they have constructed a plan of organization through which professional interests and questions of concern to all social workers can be developed and protected.

The Association has been recognized by the national legislature in connection with recommendations it has made. State and local authorities, although not equally responsive, have also been interested. The Association has also been successful in stimulating various social organizations to consider fundamental questions in the field of professional social work. As an example, the bulletin presents a detailed outline of qualifications for a professional social worker which was worked out by the German Society for Public and Private Welfare.

Fräulein Beerensson gives interesting information, too, regarding the interest of the Association in caring for the needs of the individual social worker by way of an endowment scheme, unemployment registration, leave of absence, convalescent care, and individual personal counsel to the worker desiring it.

The report by Elizabeth Lüdy on Employment of the Social Worker is interesting as a presentation of the historical development of employment registration for social workers in Germany from 1907 to 1926; of employment registration for volunteer workers, which was started in 1902; and of the changes brought about in employment registration through federal action in August, 1923.

The German Association of Women Professional Workers has four subgroups organized according to special interests: (1) the social workers serving as policewomen and public guardians. This is the oldest of the subgroups, and perhaps the one most conscious of its special problems; (2) the industrial welfare workers; (3) the professional council; (4) those concerned with family welfare. Each gives in the report an account of its objectives and of its development.

In the Appendix of the bulletin is given a list of the seventy-two local communities which are members of the German Association of Women Social Workers; also, a list of the publications of the Association.

Anyone interested in keeping abreast of the development of social professional work in other countries will find this an indispensable report regarding developments in Germany. It gives in abbreviated form a wealth of material regarding the enlarged perspective of Germany and the development of social professional work during and after the war.

FRANCELIA STUENKEL

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Paris charitable, bienfaisant, et social. Nouvelle édition. Publié par l'Office central des Oeuvres de bienfaisance, Paris, 1926. Pp. xxi+1269. Fr. 30.

The publication of this new edition of the *Directory of the Welfare Organizations of Paris* gives occasion for reviewing the history of the organization by which it is published and the general situation in Paris immediately after the Great War and then after an interval of four years, for the next preceding edition was published in 1921.

The publication of this directory, which lists 9,547 agencies, public and private, is one of the tasks of l'Office central des Oeuvres de bienfaisance, which was established in 1889 by M. Léon Lefébure for the purpose of supplementing public charitable effort. The Society attempts, without itself giving aid, to furnish those services which would render both public charity and private philanthropic effort more efficient. These services take on the following forms:

1. That of making investigations and giving information with reference to conditions of poverty and distress and also with reference to agencies undertaking to deal with those conditions. The Society is said to have a file of over 100,000 such inquiries, so that information can generally be swiftly supplied both as to the appropriate source from which aid may be obtained and as to the general standard and methods of work characteristic of any organization in the philanthropic field.

2. The periodic publication of a directory. The dates of these issues have been 1897,¹ 1904, 1921, and the present edition. The number and variety of the agencies listed have of course greatly increased since the issue of the first directory, and an ambitious plan for rendering the same service for other cities and for France as a whole has not yet been realized. There are in preparation, too, manuals for special groups of workers, for example, those concerned with the placement of children.

3. The Office co-operates in many ways with the Ministry of Public Assistance (Le Ministère du Travail, de l'Hygiène, de l'Assistance et de la Prévoyance sociales), and (4) has developed an elaborate work in the placement of young children, and in the care of the aged and infirm, and of the sick needing hospital care. (5) Repatriation of indigent aliens; (6) the distribution of funds given for special purposes; and (7) holding conferences of philanthropic groups and the conduct of special investigations are also among the activities of this very important organization.

It is perhaps not appropriate to speak more at length of the organization publishing the directory, but rather to call to the attention of the readers of the *Review* the information contained in this interesting volume. As has been said,

¹ A *Manuel d'oeuvres*, listing 176 institutions and agencies, was published in 1819 by the Société philanthropique, which was organized in 1780, and an edition in press was one of the sacrifices in the summer of 1914. There was also an issue during the war of a list of Paris war charities.

the number of agencies listed in Paris and its suburbs is 9,547. They are divided into seventeen groups: (1) legal associations; (2) foundations and testamentary trusts; (3) administrative divisions of the different ministries or departments, public educational organizations, and propagandist organizations; (4) miscellaneous philanthropic agencies; (5) organizations connected with the care of expectant or nursing mothers; (6) infant care; (7) care of orphans and other dependent children; (8) care and protection of the adolescent group; (9) various kinds of agencies dealing with the problems of adult persons in distress; (10) aged poor; (11) chronically ill and permanently handicapped; (12) hospital administration; (13) agencies providing convalescent care; (14) those having to do with soldiers and sailors; (15) authorities and organizations providing for refugees and caring for the devastated areas; (16) organizations interested in the assistance of immigrants and aliens. The final section (17) is devoted to legislation of a social or industrial character with which the agencies and organizations should be familiar. There is also an elaborate analytical table and an alphabetical list of organizations requiring 121 pages.

As has been said, it is not possible to discuss the charitable organization of Paris in a few lines, but attention may be called (1) to the marked differences between the edition of 1921 and that of 1925, (2) to the new features noted by the editors of the directory, and (3) to the deficiencies in the organization of charitable effort in Paris, which they particularly emphasize.

One important difference between the volume of 1921 and the recent volume is to be found in the nature of the introductory article or preface. That of 1921, written by M. René Valléry-Radot, president of the organization, presents in a very moving fashion the effects of the Great War on the volume and character of distress, and surveys in a brief but comprehensive and masterly fashion the development of the organizations for the service of those in distress. The introduction to the edition of 1926, written by M. Georges Goyau, a member of the Academy, presents a philosophic justification of philanthropic activity and defends charitable effort against those who maintain that the struggle for existence should be the selective force in the social and moral world.

Among the recent undertakings especially conspicuous in the edition of 1926 are the various funds and allowances intended to encourage large families, new agencies devoted to the care of the aged, special services for women, calling attention to the effect of the Great War on the employment of married women outside the home, the fight against cancer, and the development of public hygiene and public health services. Among the gaps still to be filled is that of adequate provision for the child between two and six years of age and greater provision for the sick poor needing hospital care.

The Paris journals of December 12, 1926, called attention to the opening of a school of social service, l'École Pratique de Service Social, at 159 Rue Parnasse, at which addresses were made by M. Lapie, the *recteur* of the University of Paris, and M. Charles Rist, known to many students in the field of economics in the United States. The directory of *Paris charitable, bienfaisant, et social* indicates

the range of occupations for which preparation must in some way be obtained. In later numbers of the *Review*, attention will be called to certain aspects of the question of welfare organization and education for social work as they appear in France at the present time.

S. P. B.

Prohibition at Its Worst. By IRVING FISHER. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926. Pp. 255. \$1.75.

The National Prohibition Law. Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, Sixty-ninth Congress, fifth session, April 4-24, 1926. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1926. 2 vols. Pp. vii+1660.

Professor Fisher tells us that his book is the outgrowth of his testimony before the Senate Committee, but it is much more than this brief statement implies. It is an attempt to review critically the data submitted to the Senate Committee by various persons and organizations. The man who said years ago that there were three kinds of liars, "Liars, damned liars, and statistics," clearly had in mind the kind of statistics that have been circulated in connection with the movement to secure modification of the Volstead Act. Professor Fisher devotes two of his chapters to a statistician whom he considers particularly disingenuous and who is admirably named Shirk. Mr. Shirk is the research director of the so-called Moderation League, an organization advocating the restoration of beer and light wines. The statistics presented to the Senate Committee in the name of the Moderation League are discussed in Professor Fisher's chapters iii and iv and constitute an interesting and varied collection of statistical fallacies.

Convincing proof of the need and the lack of proper statistics of crime will be found in the two volumes of the Senate *Hearings*, and it is to be hoped that they may lead Congress to create a committee to standardize the criminal statistics of the United States.

Professor Fisher has rendered a great public service in assembling and critically evaluating such statistics as are available relating to the effects of prohibition. We have entered upon one of the greatest social experiments ever deliberately undertaken in any country in the world. Surely scientific study of the results of this experiment is a matter of national concern.

But is Professor Fisher scientific? His reputation as an economist should be a sufficient reply to this question. There are those, however, who charge that Professor Fisher is a propagandist, implying that a propagandist is incapable of being scientific or of telling the truth. No one will deny that Professor Fisher believes that prohibition is now a desirable social policy and that it is extremely important that people should know the truth about prohibition. When a cancer specialist makes known and attempts to popularize the facts about cancer and tries to persuade men and women to adopt the remedies that may save their lives, he is a propagandist, but he is not considered unscientific and he does not immediately lose his reputation for veracity. He is a scientist who wishes science to save human lives and who does not think being useful is incompatible with

being scientific. Unfortunately, there are men in the social science group who hold that to try to persuade the community to adopt a right social policy instead of a wrong one is necessarily unscientific, and the implication is that a propagandist of any sort is necessarily suspect and untruthful. It is not too much to hope that the time will come when the social scientist may feel it his duty to go beyond the publication of the facts about social conditions in books or journals that are read by the few and try to persuade the many to read what is true instead of what is false when important social issues are at stake. Professor Irving Fisher has led the way and is entitled to our thanks for his fine courage. It is to be hoped that every social worker will read his book.

E. A.

Hospital Law. By JOHN A. LAPP and DOROTHY KETCHAM. Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Bruce Publishing Co., 1926. Pp. xxxiv+557. \$8.00.

This volume was prepared in co-operation with the Hospital Library and Service Bureau of the American Conference on Hospital Service in response to a need experienced by the secretary of the American Hospital Association, who was constantly confronted with complicated and difficult legal questions. And as hospital treatment is more widely sought, as attacks on medical practice by sectarian groups become more frequent and more bitter, as public service in the form of hospital care becomes more varied and more universal, the significance to boards and hospital officials of understanding with reasonable accuracy and comprehensiveness the legal questions connected with their organizations become more obvious.

The material is presented in twelve chapters, with an Introduction on the "Sources of Hospital Law," an Appendix containing a "Digest of Hospital Laws" and a "Table of Cases Cited." These chapters treat the following subjects: "Hospital Definitions," "The Incorporation of Hospitals," "The Liability of Private Hospitals," "The Liability of Public Hospitals," "Taxation," "Exemption from Taxation," "Public Aid to Hospitals," "The Hospital as a Nuisance," "Licensing," "Hospital Organization and Administration," "Charitable Trusts," and "Hospital Records."

The chapters which will be of special interest to the readers of this *Review* are perhaps those on "Liability of Public Hospitals" (iv); "Public Aid to Hospitals" (vii); "Licensing" (ix); "Charitable Trusts" (xi); and "Hospital Records" (xii).

The presentation of the material is lucid, simple, and interesting, and the volume should be of very great service to members of boards of trustees, officials in departments of public welfare, and groups interested in securing new legislation in this field, as well as to officials of hospitals already in operation and physicians practicing on hospital staffs. It is perhaps unnecessary to call attention to the fact that one of the authors, Dr. Lapp, is now president of the National Conference of Social Work, and the other, Miss Ketcham, director of the Social Service Department of the University of Michigan Hospital.

S. P. B.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

Growth of Legal Aid Work in the United States (Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics No. 398). By R. H. SMITH AND J. S. BRADWAY. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1926. Pp. v+145. \$0.20.

This report by two members of the bar, one of whom is secretary of the Association of Legal Aid Societies, brings down to date the earlier report on *Justice and the Poor*,¹ by Mr. R. H. Smith, joint author of the later report.

In the Foreword to the earlier study, Mr. Elihu Root said:

No one, however, doubts that it is the proper function of the government to secure justice. In a broad sense, that is the chief thing for which government is organized. Nor can anyone question that the highest obligation of government is to secure justice for those who, because they are poor and weak and friendless, find it hard to maintain their own rights. . . . We have had in the main just laws and honest courts to which people—poor as well as rich—could repair to obtain justice. . . . We have been so busy about our individual affairs that we have been slow to appreciate the changes of conditions which to so great an extent have put justice beyond the reach of the poor.

In that study a number of remedies were proposed for the mitigation of the situation disclosed. The chief defects pointed out were delay, court costs and fees, and expense of counsel. The remedies that lay in reorganization of the court, the creation of new officials, specialization, etc., need not be reviewed here. Whatever changes are secured in the structure and processes, the study made clear the continuous necessity, for large numbers of persons, of a service combining social with legal intelligence. This service it is the business of the Legal Aid Society to render. The report therefore contained an elaborate study of the legal aid organization as of that date.

In the present report there is a preface by Chief Justice Taft, who says:

Something must be devised by which everyone, however lowly and however poor, however unable by his means to employ a lawyer and to pay court costs, shall be furnished the opportunity to set this fixed machinery of justice going.

¹ *Justice and the Poor, A Study of the Present Denial of Justice to the Poor and the Agencies Making Equal Their Position before the Law, with Particular Reference to Legal Aid Work in the United States*, published in 1919 by the Carnegie Foundation (Bulletin No. 13).

The report covers briefly the development of other remedial agencies such as the small-claims courts, conciliation tribunals, industrial-accident commission, and public defenders; the body of the report deals, however, with the organization and development of legal-aid societies and with their relationship to social agencies and to the bar. It is unnecessary to review the contents of the report at length. It should be in the hands of all social case workers, and in the offices of all social agencies. Besides the information contained in it, it is of great interest because of its suggestions concerning the formation of legal-aid societies and because of the list of legal-aid organizations (Appendix G, p. 140. This list is as of 1925).

An interesting consequence of these reports is the development of legal-aid courses in the curricula of schools for social work. Such courses are already given in the Philadelphia and the University of Chicago schools and will undoubtedly find a place in the curricula of the other schools in the not too distant future.

The Legal Foundations of the Jurisdiction, Powers, Organization, and Procedure of the Courts of Pennsylvania in Their Handling of Cases of Juvenile Offenders and of Dependent and Neglected Children. Children's Commission of Pennsylvania (1525 Locust Street, Philadelphia), November 15, 1926. Pp. 166.

An important recent development in the field of public welfare and child care has been the establishment of state commissions for the study and revision of child-welfare laws.¹ Before the end of 1924, in twenty-nine states, commissions had been created for the general purpose of studying "all the laws relating to child welfare." Among these states was Pennsylvania,² and the present report is the third important contribution to that subject made by the Pennsylvania Commission. The first of these was a *Report to the General Assembly Meeting in 1925*, dealing with "The Care of Dependent Children," "The Scope and Functions of Juvenile Courts," "The Care of Delinquent Children," and "Adoption in Pennsylvania." In the second part was a "Manual of General Statutes of Pennsylvania Relating to Children." The result of the work of the Commission during the first two years of its existence was the passage of two

¹ See, for example, *U.S. Children's Bureau Pub. No. 131*.

² The members of the Commission are Charles Edwin Fox, chairman, Mrs. John W. Lawrence, vice-chairman, Mrs. J. H. Bovaird, J. Rogers Flannery, Hon. Edward Lindsey, J. Prentice Murphy, Miss Florence Sibley, with Dr. Neva R. Deardorff as executive secretary. The office is at 1525 Locust Street, Philadelphia.

acts recommended by the Commission, one dealing with the "Procedure in the Adoption of Children and Adults"¹ and the other "Providing for the Issuance of Licenses for Infant Boarding Houses."²

The Commission was continued by the legislature of 1925, and the report in hand belongs to its second term of existence and constitutes a very interesting contribution to the general understanding of the interrelations of agencies and institutions having especially to do with delinquent and dependent children. The juvenile-court movement is nationwide in extent. The groups of children generally referred to in so-called "juvenile-court laws" are delinquent children and dependent or "dependent and neglected children."

These laws are alike in certain purposes, namely, those of modifying such of the old law as brought children frequently into conflict with the law-enforcing agencies and in contact with the inferior courts, of enforcing parental obligations of support and care at a standard not below a reasonable minimum, and of elaborating and developing provision for the appropriate treatment of children in need of special attention. The legislation has been complicated and has affected the older administrative organization, both executive and judicial, at many points. Especially those responsible for this legislation have attempted to substitute principles of treatment for the older principles of punishment; and, if punishment is to be dispensed with, safeguards against the abuse of penal provisions become superfluous.

Like the earlier study of the law of adoption, this statement is thrown into the form of question and answer. Of course, the replies to some of the questions amount to comprehensive statements rather than to answers to simple questions. For example, the answer to Question 201 requires 4½ pages; to 209, 4 pages; to 202, 5½ pages; and to 225, 12 pages. The Commission evidently has reason to think that the value of the statement will be increased by the use of this form, which has great difficulties from the point of view of smoothness and, sometimes, of sequence and coherence.

The material is divided into eight sections beside the Table of Cases Cited and the Index. These are: I, Juvenile Courts, Powers and Procedure of Courts; II, Probation and Probation Officials; III, Detention of Children and Detention Houses; IV, County Schools for Juvenile Court Charges; V, Contributing to the Delinquency of a Minor and

¹ *Laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (1925), No. 93, "An Act Relating to Adoption."

² *Ibid.*, No. 155, "An Act Relating to Boarding Houses for Infants."

Related Offenses of Adults; VI, Powers and Procedure of the Court in the Cases of Dependent and Neglected Children; VII, Other Classes of Cases within the Juvenile Court's Jurisdiction; VIII, The Legislative Power to Create Juvenile Courts.

The most interesting aspects of the discussion are perhaps those covered in Section I and Section VI; for in the mind of the Commission there remains much to be said on the subject of the jurisdiction of juvenile courts in relation to older criminal procedure and in relation to the possible substitution of the equitable for the criminal jurisdiction. The Commission takes issue with some earlier interpretations of juvenile-court legislation by Judge Julian W. Mack; and, when able lawyers give attention to these problems, not only may a more careful definition of the various legal problems be anticipated, but a clearer line between the legal and the social may be hoped for. Only when such lines are clearly drawn can reasonable equality in the professional organization of other aspects of the court's work be anticipated. In the same way the Commission makes a very important contribution to the history and theory of the juvenile-court jurisdiction over dependent and neglected children.

These publications of the Pennsylvania Commission should be studied in connection with the publications of the United States Children's Bureau¹ and with those of the National Probation Association and the New York Probation Commission, especially perhaps the proceedings of the associations of magistrates which have been organized in New York. The point is that there is so great a volume of work to be done in so reorganizing institutions as to adapt them to the needs of the modern community that all waste effort and futile motion should be avoided; and there is great waste when unconstitutional laws are enacted, when the courts are asked to undertake tasks that are not truly judicial in character, and when changes are proposed before the bench and the bar are reasonably prepared to co-operate.

The personnel of the present Pennsylvania Commission, on which there are lawyers of distinction, social workers, and public-spirited citizens, with an executive secretary who is president of the American Association of Social Workers, chairman of the division of the National Conference of Social Work on Education and Training, a thorough student of the social sciences, with experience in both the academic and the practical field, assures thoroughness in preparation, comprehensiveness of view, and skill in statement of a very rare degree. The work of the Com-

¹ The Bureau's Publication No. 124, *List of References on Juvenile Courts and Probation in the United States* (Washington, 1923) should be consulted.

mission is one occasion for sincere gratitude to Governor Pinchot on the part of all students of government, and especially of public welfare, and an evidence of the fine quality possible to public officials in different fields of research as well as in the general administration of the state.

Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration to the Secretary of Labor, 1926 (U.S. Department of Labor). Washington: Government Printing Office, 1926. Pp. vi+221. \$0.20.

This is a very interesting report, containing not only the usual statistics relating to immigration, emigration, deportation, and other subjects of importance, but also comments by the Commissioner General on the working of the new immigration act, with recommendations for new legislation.

The report shows a very encouraging reduction in the number of aliens found inadmissible, debarred at our seaports, and deported. The total number of persons debarred remains very large, both absolutely and in proportion to the total number of applicants for admission, but the largest numbers now are those debarred on the land-border ports, and not at the seaports.

The hardships involved in debarment at the seaports are so great that the Commissioner General should be congratulated on the success of his efforts to reduce this evil, and it is to be hoped that all debarments can ultimately be eliminated. The improvement is due largely to the stationing of technical advisers on immigration matters at the various American consulates in Northern and Western Europe.

Another subject of importance discussed in the report is Mexican immigration. The restriction of immigrant labor from Europe led, of course, to an increase in Mexican immigration and to an increased migration of southern Negro labor to northern industries. The increase in Mexican immigration is indicated by the following figures, which show the number of Mexicans admitted as follows: in ten years, 1901-10, 49,642; in ten years, 1911-20, 219,004; in six years, 1921-26, 279,693. The significance of these figures can be better understood by recalling that in 1890 there were only 77,693 Mexicans reported in the whole United States by the population census; at 2 per cent the annual quota for Mexico would be 1,557, if the present quota system were to be extended to Mexico.

This the Commissioner General advocates in his list of suggested

changes (p. 22), and he proposes the extension of the quota system, not only for Mexico but for Canada and the Central and South American countries. He finds (p. 2) that:

In fact, indications are not lacking of a desire on the part of the representative American public for an extension of existing quota restrictions to certain countries of this hemisphere which have not heretofore been limited by quotas. Apparently the thought of the country at large has crystallized upon the proposition of limited immigration and has reached a conclusion that restricted immigration, admittedly good in some directions, would likewise prove beneficial in other directions and should be more broadly extended than at present.

The probable social and industrial consequences of such a change are not discussed. Certainly an immediate effect would be the further stimulation of the northward movement of southern Negro labor. The effects of such migration on agriculture in the South and on industry in the North, together with other consequences of so radical change in the distribution of the Negro population, are worth consideration.

In connection with his approval of the quota legislation, it is interesting that the Commissioner General shares the aversion that has so recently developed to the "national origins" plan, which is the logical extension of the quota principle. The last immigration act provided that after July 1, 1927, the quotas should be fixed on the basis of the "national origins" of the entire population instead of country of birth of the foreign-born population. The theory underlying the whole quota system is that assimilability is determined by the proportionate number of persons already in the United States who were born in the various countries of origin. But the present distribution of quotas apparently assumes that only the foreign-born residents of the United States help to promote the assimilation of new arrivals. By the new plan the national origin of the native-born as well as the foreign-born would be taken into consideration. But the "national origin" statistics which have finally been submitted¹ are not to the liking of congressmen. On the basis of "national origins" the quota for Germany will be substantially reduced and the quota for Great Britain will be substantially increased. There will also be changes in the smaller quotas, with Italy and Russia gaining and the Scandinavian countries losing. It is safe to predict that the recommendation of the Commissioner General will be carried out and the "national origins" provisions will be repealed without being tried.

¹ For the "National Origins" report see U. S. Sixty-ninth Congress, 2d sess., Senate Documents 190 and 193.

The Commissioner General's recommendation that "general discretion" be given the Secretary of Labor to readmit expatriated native and naturalized citizens raises a serious question. Admission on the basis of administrative "discretion" instead of under general rules prescribed by the legislature is contrary to the American theory of government by laws instead of by men.

There will, however, be general approval of the recommendation that immigrants who entered the country illegally but who have established permanent residence here should not be torn up by the roots and deported. Apparently the Commissioner approves *nunc pro tunc* examinations before immigrant inspectors and officers of the United States Public Health Service as a method of legalizing the status of those who came before the quota system was established. On the other hand, he points out "the need for a broader measure providing for the deportation of aliens who entered without inspection. . . ." Logically, there would seem to be good reason for *nunc pro tunc* examinations for all aliens who have been here a given number of years, whether pre- or post-quota.

Public Social Services (Total Expenditure under Certain Acts of Parliament). Great Britain (1926; 205). Pp. 14. 3d.

The 1926 British "white paper" on *Public Social Services*, describing the total expenditures for public welfare work in Great Britain, is worthy of careful study. The expenditures accounted for are those provided under certain acts of Parliament, especially those provided under the national health-insurance acts, the unemployment-insurance acts, the war-pensions acts and the Ministry of Pensions act, the old-age pensions acts, the education acts, the acts relating to reformatory and industrial schools, the inebriates acts, the public-health acts (so far as they relate to hospitals, the treatment of disease, and maternity and child welfare), the housing of the working-classes acts, the acts relating to the relief of the poor, the unemployed-workmen act, the lunacy acts, and the mental-deficiency act.

We give in Table I the expenditures for 1891, the earliest year, and for 1924, the latest year for which particulars are available.

The expenditures for social insurance may be described as "staggering" or "magnificent" according to one's point of view—health and unemployment and old-age pensions reaching the combined total of nearly ninety million pounds, or close to \$435,000,000.

Of special interest is the fact that of the total expenditures for the year for all the services, which in our money approximated nearly \$1,400,000,000, only 22.8 per cent came from local rates, and 51.5 per cent came from the central government—from parliamentary votes and grants—the remaining 25.7 per cent representing such receipts as the contributions from insured persons and other miscellaneous income.

The social-insurance acts were all passed in the last twenty years and

TABLE I

Expenditures under the Following Acts	1891 (£)	1924 (£)
National insurance (health) acts.....		27,427,000
Unemployment-insurance acts.....		40,982,480
War-pensions acts, and the Ministry of Pensions act.....		62,333,877
Old-age pensions acts.....		21,315,153
Education acts.....	10,079,000	75,144,420
Acts relating to reformatory and industrial schools.....	376,270	828,353
Inebriates acts.....	44	18,223
Public-health acts, so far as they relate to (a) Hospitals and treatment of disease..	410,000	6,616,000
(b) Maternity and child-welfare work.....		1,613,000
Housing of the working-classes acts.....	238,000	14,610,000
Acts relating to the relief of the poor.....	8,456,017	37,964,000
Unemployed-workmen act.....		39,060
Lunacy acts.....	566,000	1,931,900
Mental-deficiency act.....		814,800
Totals.....	£20,125,331	£291,638,266

therefore no comparison of expenditures with 1891 is possible. Expenditures for poor relief, however, are comparable throughout the period, and in spite of the growth of social insurance, poor-relief expenditures have more than quadrupled during the period, as is indicated by the increase from £8,456,017 in 1891 to £37,964,000 in 1924. During the same period the population of England and Wales increased in round numbers from 29,002,500 to 37,885,350, or 30 per cent.

The total number of beneficiaries for certain of the acts is given as follows: national health insurance, 13,844,000 persons; unemployment insurance, 9,950,160 persons; war pensions, 1,873,400; old-age pensions, 918,000; education acts, 6,826,791; reformatory and industrial schools, 8,434; poor relief, 1,403,014; and lunacy acts, 97,413.

Children under Institutional Care, 1923. Statistics of Dependent, Neglected, and Delinquent Children in Institutions and under the Supervision of other Agencies for the Care of Children, with a Section on Adults in Certain Types of Institutions (U.S. Bureau of the Census). Washington: Government Printing Office, 1926. Pp. 381. \$0.50.

This report of the special census of dependent, neglected, and delinquent children in the care of institutions and child-placing agencies will be of wide interest. It is in three sections. The first section contains statistics relating to institutions and agencies for the care of dependent and neglected children and institutions for adults which also care for children; the second section contains statistics with reference to institutions caring for dependent adults; the third comprises data for juvenile delinquents. No attempt was made at this census to cover data for public aid to mothers for the care of children in their own homes, but an estimate is made of children provided for in this way based on figures supplied by the United States Children's Bureau.

This report differs from the report of 1910 in the following ways: (1) There is a special section on juvenile delinquents; (2) humane and protective societies and institutions for the long-time care of crippled children are now presented separately instead of being classed with other institutions for dependent children; (3) day nurseries, which were in the Census of 1904 but omitted from 1910, are restored; (4) financial statistics have been omitted. The report replaces the 1904 Census of *Benevolent Institutions* and a considerable portion of *Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents*.

The report shows the large total of 404,678 children in the United States in care of institutions or under the supervision of child-placing agencies on February 1, 1923. Of these, 204,888 were in institutions or receiving-homes, 51,164 in free homes, 22,281 in boarding-homes, 121,441 under supervision in their own homes, and 4,904 were temporarily away from the institutions or foster homes, but still under supervision.

The institutions for dependent children cared for 138,760 dependent children, of whom 14,380 were in free homes and 1,823 in boarding-homes. Institutions for adults and children reported 10,248 dependent children under care. The day nurseries reported 22,822 children, and the humane societies had 656 children in their shelters. Child-placing societies had under care a total of 67,168 children, of whom 5,470 were

still in the receiving-homes; more than half of the total were in free foster homes.

The children in their own homes aided from public funds were estimated by the U.S. Children's Bureau to number 121,000, and 412 were aided from child-caring organizations. No report is made of those given relief in the form of pensions by family social agencies. There were still 1,992 dependent children in the almshouses and 774 in the detention homes of juvenile courts. These detention homes also cared for 636 delinquent children.

The section dealing with juvenile delinquents shows a total of 23,003 between ten and seventeen years of age in special institutions for juvenile delinquents, and 2,230 in penal institutions. That is, 91.2 per cent of the total number of juvenile delinquents were in special institutions, with only 8.8 per cent in jails, workhouses, and other prisons. The number of juvenile delinquents enumerated in all institutions was 154.5 per 100,000 of the population ten to seventeen years of age. Going back one generation, the census of 1890 showed 149.2 juvenile delinquents in institutions per 100,000 population, but in 1890, 23.3 per cent were in penal institutions and only 76.7 in institutions for juvenile delinquents. However, with approximately 9 per cent of our young delinquents in jails and prisons, there is still work to be done.

Publications of The United States Children's Bureau. Nos. 151-62, 166-67. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1926.

The reports of the research work of the Children's Bureau during the past year cover a wide variety of subjects. Among those likely to interest the readers of this review, the first place should be given to a series of studies of "Children in Need of Special Care." These reports deal with child dependency and delinquency in North and South Dakota and Georgia, three states that were studied at the request of state officials concerned with child welfare. The first report (*Bureau Pub. 160*) sets forth child-welfare conditions in the two Dakotas, compares existing conditions with accepted standards of provision for child welfare, and suggests remedial legislation.

The report on *Dependent and Delinquent Children in Georgia* (*Bureau Pub. 161*), though concerned primarily with courts handling children's cases, discusses delinquency, dependency, and neglect untouched by the courts; offenses committed by adults against children; non-support and

desertion; adoptions; illegitimacy; child marriages; and the need for aid to children in their own homes. Although constructive work was being done in some of the counties, it was found that separate courts hearing children's cases were being held in only sixteen of the thirty counties studied and that probation service was very inadequate; that jail detention was not uncommon; that almost none of the courts handling adoption cases had given special consideration to safeguarding the children; that child marriages and "parental release" of children were common; and that Georgia had no system of mothers' aid. The report summarizes the legislation needed.

Mothers' aid legislation and the protection of children of illegitimate birth formed the subject of two brief reports based on office research as contrasted with the field investigations just described. The former report, entitled *Public Aid to Mothers with Dependent Children* (Bureau Pub. 162), treats the history, status, and principles of legislation on this subject, the methods of administration, and the general standards of such aid. The general conclusion is that the most pressing need is not new laws, but larger appropriations and higher standards of administration. The other report, on *Children of Illegitimate Birth and Measures for Their Protection* (Bureau Pub. 166), discusses briefly what illegitimacy means to the child, its prevalence, the connection of illegitimacy with high infant-mortality rates and with the problem of dependency, the factors in illegitimacy that point to the preventive measures needed, and constructive legislation on this subject both in this country and abroad.

Juvenile-Court Statistics (Bureau Pub. 159) gives forms for statistical cards and tabulations the use of which by the courts would make possible for the first time the compiling of statistics of juvenile delinquency in different parts of the country on a uniform and therefore comparable basis. The cards themselves were made available to the courts on July 1, 1926. As the plan comes into full operation it is the purpose of the Bureau to issue a yearly statistical report based on the card data and tabulated according to the forms given in this publication.

In the industrial field several interesting reports have been published. *Child Labor in the Fruit and Hop Growing Districts of the Northern Pacific Coast* (Bureau Pub. 151) and *Child Labor in Tobacco-growing Areas of Kentucky, South Carolina, and Virginia, and the Connecticut Valley* (Bureau Pub. 155) formed the subjects of the seventh and eighth reports, respectively, in the Bureau series on the work of children in rural areas. "Following the fruit" in Washington and Oregon, it was found, does not handicap the children so seriously as working on some of the eastern truck

farms studied by the Bureau, but drawbacks to the life from the point of view of children's welfare were too long hours, absence from school, and bad living conditions in some of the workers' camps. In the tobacco districts about 2,300 child workers were studied, nearly half of those in the South and more than one-third of those in the Connecticut Valley being under twelve years of age. The kinds of work done were noted, the length of the typical working day, the duration of employment, the earnings of the children, their absence from school owing to work on the tobacco crop or other farm work, and the effect of this absence upon their progress in school.

A report on *Industrial Accidents to Employed Minors in Wisconsin, Massachusetts, and New Jersey* (Bureau Pub. 152) showed that in these states 38 young persons were killed, 920 partly disabled for life, and 6,520 temporarily disabled in one year as a result of compensable industrial accidents. Since these large numbers are found in states offering considerable protection to young workers, the report concludes that additional protection is needed.

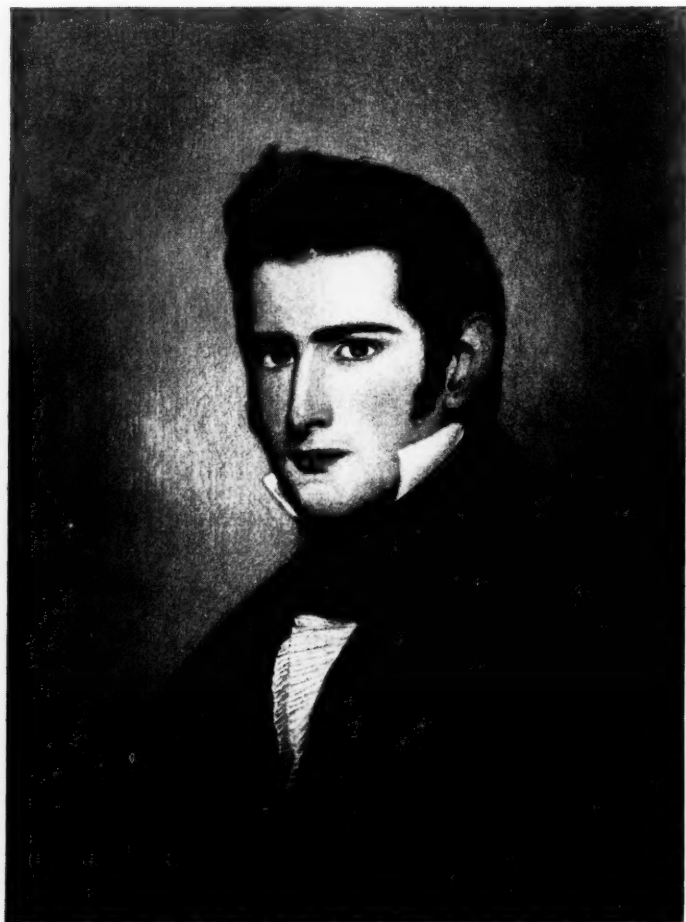
Another series of reports deal with "Maternity and Infant and Child Hygiene." In line with the Bureau's efforts to bring about uniformity in records of juvenile delinquency is its working out of standard records for prenatal care and for physical examinations of children at health conferences. These forms, each of which was the work of a committee of physicians, are included with explanatory text in *Bureau Publications 153 and 154 (Standards of Prenatal Care and Standards for Physicians Conducting Conferences in Child-Health Centers)* and are also available separately.

The results of an important piece of research in the Bureau are embodied in the report on *Maternal Mortality* (Bureau Pub. 158), which analyzes available material both American and foreign on deaths of mothers during childbirth and finds that the maternal death rate in the United States is one of the highest in the civilized world. The report concludes that the conditions causing such deaths are largely preventable, and the problem is therefore to insure adequate prenatal and natal care.

The advantages of state licensing and inspection of maternity homes are brought out in a report on *Maternity Homes in Minnesota and Pennsylvania* (Bureau Pub. 167), comparing conditions in Minnesota, where such homes are licensed, with those in Pennsylvania, where they are not licensed. The homes in Minnesota appeared to give their patients much better medical and physical care and to make better provision for them upon discharge. A description is given of each of the thirty-five homes studied.

Administrative reports published include the annual report on the *Maternity and Infancy Work in the States* (Bureau Pub. 156) and the *Proceedings of the Third Annual Conference of State Directors in Charge of the Administration of the Maternity and Infancy Act, 1926* (Bureau Pub. 157). Some addresses of permanent scientific interest were issued as separates from the *Proceedings*: "Maternal Mortality" (Dr. Robert L. DeNormandie), "Prenatal Care" (Dr. DeNormandie and Dr. Fred L. Adair), "Community Control of Rickets" (Dr. Martha M. Eliot), "Birth Registration" (Dr. William H. Davis), "Mental Hygiene and Child Welfare" (Dr. D. A. Thom), and "Special Aspects of Nutrition" (Dr. Nina Simmonds).

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SAMUEL GRIDLEY HOWE .

(During the early days at the Blind Asylum, see pp. 291-309)

[*American Philanthropy Series*]

The SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

VOLUME I

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NUMBER 2

THE PROBLEM OF MEASURING SOCIAL TREATMENT

IT IS an American habit, when something goes wrong, to concoct a special plan for dealing with it—pass a law, form a committee, adopt a scheme. But after the law is passed, the committee formed, the scheme in operation, our interest slackens, until something reminds us that the troubles are not, after all, remedied; when we again pass a law, form a committee, adopt a scheme, which again may prove ineffective.

What we should do is to follow up our law, committee, or scheme, observe its operations, measure its results, and take our next action on the basis of past experience.

This is especially necessary in the field of social work. How many plans have been adopted on the assumption that certain procedures would bring desirable results! How few have been tested to see how far the assumptions on which they are based have been verified!

This is perhaps the most important job before the social work profession at the present time: to undertake the measurement of effectiveness of social treatment and the study of causes of success and failure.

But this is no easy job. Its difficulties are enormous. The object of study itself is not easily analyzed.

What is "social treatment"? An indefinitely numerous, heterogeneous, and overlapping assortment of activities, ranging from sim-

ple acts which may be definitely described, named, and counted, to intricate series of processes, involving motives and attitudes, which defy analysis and seem completely to bar out counting.

What is "success"? Not a concrete thing, or condition, or circumstance, but an evaluation of a tangled complex of conditions and circumstances.

What are the causes of success or failure? Success in the individual life is not simply the sum of the favorable conditions experienced by the individual; it is the result of the action of the conditions upon him and his reaction to them. We must then take into account his nature and character as factors in the result, as well as the treatment administered. And certainly the analysis of human nature and character is no simple affair.

It is no wonder that we have fought shy of this undertaking. And yet because it is so necessary, one intrepid soul after another is grappling with it, and a study of their efforts is of great value, not simply for the conclusions they reach, but for the help they can give in the work of developing methods of investigation progressively more adequate to meet the difficulties involved in this type of inquiry. A noteworthy piece of work in this direction is recorded in a recent book¹ by Dr. Healy and Dr. Bronner in the field of juvenile delinquency.

In this book the authors have turned from their intensive study of single cases of juvenile delinquency to attempt a statistical measurement of the effectiveness of treatment. They point out the absurdity of going on, year after year, ordering the same methods of treatment without stopping to inventory their effectiveness, and claim that the present study is a first attempt to estimate just what has actually been accomplished through society's handling of some groups of offenders. Through the study they have endeavored to learn the actual outcome—the success or failure in adult life—of certain juvenile offenders, and to relate these outcomes to attendant circumstances, the type of treatment given, and the characteristics and experiences other than treatment of the children.

¹ William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *Delinquents and Criminals; Their Making and Unmaking; Studies in Two American Cities*. Judge Baker Foundation Publication No. 3. New York: Macmillan, 1926. Pp. viii+317. \$3.50.

Affording the basic material for this study are three groups of juvenile repeated offenders with later careers traced: from Chicago, a series of 920 boys and girls studied by the authors in their clinic in Chicago in 1909-14 and followed up in a special research in 1921-23; from Boston, a series of 400 young male offenders who appeared in the juvenile court in 1909-14, whose careers were studied in 1923 in relation to further delinquency; and a series of 400 boys, also repeated offenders, originally studied by the authors in Boston in 1918-19, and known to them in their after careers through the regular following up of cases. First offenders were not chosen because, in the opinion of the authors, their delinquencies sometimes are accidental or so slight that the offender in essence or by intent is non-delinquent. Groups from two cities were chosen because of the "value of comparison as scientific method."

As the main purpose of studying outcomes was to test the effectiveness of treatment, the cases were selected so as to be within the limits in which treatment would have a chance to work and to show its effects.

The individuals chosen for study in the Chicago series were not above the juvenile court age at the time of first acquaintance with them by the authors, and were cared for by the juvenile court or through agencies dealing with juveniles. Furthermore, they were old enough at the time of the study to be well above the juvenile age, so that there was a chance to judge of the outcome. The average age of the group at the time of the study of outcomes was approximately twenty-five years. All cases had been dealt with by the juvenile court, and no cases were included that were under the care of the court for only short periods, such as those of runaway boys.

The Boston cases were selected within similar age limits. The individuals studied were at least two years above juvenile court age; they were also chosen to be as like as possible to the Chicago group in the offenses committed. Cases of trivial offenses, such as selling fruit without a license or playing ball on the street, were ruled out. Nothing is said about age limits at the time outcome was recorded, or about the average age of the group, so that we do not know whether individuals younger than the age limit adopted for the Chicago study were included or eliminated.

Before turning to the results of this study we should know how the authors define and measure "success" and "failure," and how they measure "treatment."

It was not possible, they thought, to estimate success and failure on too fine a scale. For the Chicago series, outcome was counted as success when the individual was found to be living in the community without known detriment to the community and had engaged in no criminality; as failure, if the individuals had an adult court record, or were shown to be an actual drag on the community—vagrants, excessive drinkers, extreme loafers, grossly immoral.

Of the 920 boys and girls chosen for study in the Chicago group, 162 were not found in the follow-up inquiry to learn outcomes; 83 more were not recorded as either successes or failures, because they had died, or were in non-correctional institutions, or the result was indefinite, leaving 675 estimated in terms of success or failure.

We are not informed so completely as to the standard of success and failure used in the Boston cases. From the statistical tables, however, we infer that only failures are recorded, and that "failure" meant adult court record only. This is the reason why girls were not included in the Boston group. Girls who are failures relatively seldom appear in the adult court. And in the tables for the Boston group no account is given of cases "not found," in institutions, or of indifferent success.

In respect to treatment also only gross adjustments were considered—commitments to institutions, placement in foster homes, probation, rather than the more subjective influences brought to bear—because while the latter knowledge was more valuable, it was impossible to secure it within the limits of the study.

As a result of the study the authors conclude that "the long array of data gathered in this book offers convincing evidence that the treatment of juvenile delinquency by some prevailing methods is followed by an amount and extremity of failure that is appalling."

The Chicago series shows 61 per cent of the 420 boys and 46 per cent of the 255 girls in the group of 675 for whom success or failure was recorded, rated as failures, comprising both adult court record and other forms of failure. The failures among the boys with adult court records only were 50 per cent of the 420 boys.

The Boston group of the same period as the Chicago group (1909-14), all males, shows 21 per cent of failures, judged by adult court records only, which rate is compared, not to the 61 per cent failures of the Chicago boys including all types of failure, but to the 50 per cent with adult court records only.

This difference indicates to the authors the possibility that failures may be less extensive and less severe than in Chicago.

As to the relation between treatment and outcome, it is stated that a large proportion of the Chicago males had been at some time committed to juvenile correctional institutions, and of these a large share had become adult offenders; hence, that the treatment undertaken by the state accomplished very little of its avowed purpose.

In the Boston group a smaller proportion than in Chicago had been committed, and a smaller percentage of those committed had appeared as adult offenders.

It is not claimed by the authors, however, that difference in institutional régime is solely responsible for the great differences in outcomes in those sent to juvenile institutions in the two communities. They point out that there is, in particular, a marked difference in the two cities in the work done under parole. Often in Boston this means placing in foster homes. Nor should it be concluded, they say, that non-commitment alone is a better procedure; we must take into consideration what influences are actually at work on the child.

From the data on background—age at first court appearance, nativity of parents, religious affiliation, whether or not families are normally constituted, family economic status, physical and mental conditions of the offender, character of the offenses—the authors conclude that none of these to any large extent show significant differentiation between the success and failure groups.

The conclusions from the statistical data, then, are mainly negative. Significant differences in background related to difference in outcome are not shown; differences in outcome according to type of treatment are shown, but not according to actual processes used. In fact, the authors show themselves rather skeptical about the statistical method generally. They say that statistical studies cannot readily present the complete picture of delinquent causations, and

that for treatment "no great generalizations about dealing with delinquents in groups are possible."

Some positive conclusions drawn are that because causative forces are complex, a wide range of resources in treatment is needed. Commonly, they say, set forms of treatment are supposed to be adequate for meeting all types of individuals. But "ascertainable facts make it evident that in our group the separate needs of individual offenders were not and could not thus be met. And this is doubtless a major cause of the large percentage of failure." "From all this, it is a fair deduction that as a whole the treatment of delinquents is unwarrantably inefficient."

It is too bad that, after making so elaborate a statistical study, after heaping up so many tables, counting and comparing so many groups and subgroups, the authors should derive mainly negative results from them, and turn for their positive conclusions to an assumed residual remainder that the data do not show.

According to them, since Boston shows a lower rate of failure than Chicago, greater success is possible than is reached in Chicago. What is the reason for the difference? It does not lie in the type of treatment, nor is it found in the background of the child as shown in the statistics. It must be found, then, according to our authors, in a difference in degree of individual adjustment of actual treatment to actual background.

How far is this conclusion valid, and how far is it helpful, even if valid? We still must ask, What are the factors in the background to be dealt with? What are the appropriate means of meeting them in treatment? And how can these be known without an assembling of experience and a counting of instances, which is, after all, what the statistical method amounts to? Take the conclusion that "the treatment of delinquents is unwarrantably inefficient." "Unwarrantably" is true only if something can be done to produce good results, and we know what it is and do not do it.

Is it true that 100 per cent success in the sense used in this book, as adjustment to the community without known detriment to it, would be possible by adjusting treatment to individual needs? Is it true that there is a remedy for every case? If not, to what extent is failure "warrantable"? This is a statistical question, to be solved

only by comparative studies of results as conditioned by background and treatment.

This is, in fact, the only way of telling whether factors are unfavorable—Do they, or do they not, in fact, operate against success in so many instances that we may conclude that conflicting and unknown factors are eliminated?

Notwithstanding the generally negative conclusions from the statistics and the general disavowal of the value of the statistical method as a means of getting at the heart of the problem, made by the authors, we have left on our hands as a positive statistical result a difference in rates between two cities which is not explained by the statistics here presented, which arouses curiosity, and will be used by the average reader to the general discredit of the high-rate city.

Let us examine the data and see whether the comparisons made and the conclusions drawn, not only about the comparative rates of Boston and Chicago, but about other matters, may not need modification. In the first place, is outcome measured as completely for Boston as for Chicago, and is the proportion of successes and failures computed in the same way?

It has been noted that the Chicago group included as failures some children who had no adult court records; but comparisons between Boston and Chicago were made on the basis of adult court record only, as was proper.

But was the reporting of adult court record equally complete in both cities? In Chicago the adult court record was secured by intensive personal follow-up work by a staff of trained field investigators under expert direction, generously financed by Mrs. W. F. Dummer, to whom we must all be grateful for the support she is always ready to give to research. These field workers visited homes, consulted official records, and obtained facts from unofficial social agencies. The trail of cases was followed even over the state line.

The Boston outcomes were secured from official records alone, and we are not told what resources were used to secure them.

The authors claim that the account of failures for Boston is even more complete than for Chicago because of the completeness of the Boston records. But some of us who have tried to gather information

from court records only, even in Massachusetts, feel skepticism on this point.

We have to remember, also, certain differences in methods of recording court appearances. In Massachusetts, for example, there exists a method of noting the disposition of certain cases in certain courts as "on file," in which instance they are not of record. The authors have not told us of this complication, and whether it was a hindrance in their search or not. If the Boston record was less complete than the authors thought, their record of failure is too low. We are not told, furthermore, whether the rate of failure was computed on the same basis for Boston and for Chicago. Failure in Chicago was the ratio to the total cases of success or failure, 675 in number, out of the group of 920 originally selected for study.

As far as we can learn from the description of method, in the Boston cases only failures were counted, through search of the records. Were "successes" the remainder, without search to see how many had dropped from sight, were dead or in some institution? If so, the ratio of failure was proportionately too high for Chicago. Boys with adult court records were only 37 per cent of the total number of Chicago boys selected for study. If the Boston group included boys of unknown outcome or in institutions, this 37 per cent should be the ratio to compare with Boston's 21 per cent, instead of the 50 per cent based on known cases of successes or failure.

Furthermore, if the average age of the four hundred Boston boys was lower than that of the Chicago boys at the time of studying outcomes, again the record for Boston would be relatively too low, because less time would have been allowed for a court record to be incurred.

Should the conclusions of the authors about background factors be modified? A considerable number of the tables have to do with backgrounds, but the greater part of them are for Chicago cases only. But they are used as tests of comparability of the Chicago group with Boston, on the ground that if a given factor is not correlated with the outcome in Chicago, it may be inferred that a different proportion of this factor in the Boston cases, should it exist, would not affect the rate of failure.

If a significant difference for any factor should be shown, it

would then be necessary to show that the proportion of that factor in the Boston cases was the same. This the authors have undertaken to do.

On studying these tables, however, the reader is puzzled by the interpretation given them in the text. One cannot see what principle has guided the authors. Have they, for example, taken into account any method of estimating probable error, based upon the numbers in the subgroups on which their ratios are based? These subgroups are sometimes very small.

It would appear that error due to small numbers was considered from the fact that the general conclusion that background is shown to have little correlation with outcome agrees in general with results gained by computing errors for the tables. But in the text comment on tables the authors make no allusion to any such computation. The method followed seems to be to quote the percentages shown, or their differences, as in themselves important or unimportant, but with no indication why they are so.

There appears throughout the comment a curious insistence on 50 per cent as a standard by which other ratios are compared, as "above" or "below" with respect to outcome. Why 50 per cent is selected we cannot tell. In comment on Table XXV we are told that differences in outcome according to nationality are so "slight as to be negligible, the greatest difference in outcome (except for the colored, a group so small as to have comparatively little reliability) being only 8 per cent." In Table XXX the differences in outcome according to religious belief are "astonishingly small," "never larger than 10 per cent." For Table XL it is pointed out that a larger amount of success is attained by persons with normal family history, but that the difference between them and those with abnormal mentality in the family (who have the lowest rate of success in the non-normal group) is "not very great," "only 17 per cent better measure of success." These differences would certainly be significant if the groups were large enough to reduce the probabilities of error to negligible terms. And the conclusion should not be merely that significant differences are not shown, but that the differences shown are not significant owing to the paucity of data.

On the other hand, in some instances positive conclusions are

drawn from such small numbers that differences are wiped out by computation of probable error. For example, the conclusion that destitution increases the chance of failure and "luxury" seems to increase the chance for success is based upon thirty-five cases of destitution and twenty-five cases of "luxury." Again, with regard to bad physical habits, comment is made that 70 per cent of the fifty-seven males who were excessive masturbators in the Chicago series turned out to be failures, while of the twenty-seven girls, 63 per cent were successes, "a reversal of findings for which there may be physiological and other explanations." One other explanation would be that the differences are not significant. The rate for the boys, compared with their general rate, and the rate for the girls, also compared with their general rate, is about the same, and the differences so small that the probable error more than covers them. Another conclusion, with regard to type of offense, is that 82 per cent of failure for homosexual cases of boys appears "tremendous and highly significant." This conclusion is based upon seventeen cases.

The conclusions of the authors seem justified that differences in type of treatment alone are not responsible for the differences in outcome between Boston and Chicago. For Chicago the boys committed showed 70 per cent failure; for Boston, however, the boys committed showed only 29 per cent failure, while the rate of failure for the non-committed Chicago boys was 34 per cent. Are we reduced then to concluding that the difference must be due to some inadequacy of treatment not defined but assumed because of the fact of failure?

There is another possibility. Our authors insist that treatment should be adjusted to individual needs, and that needs are different; and they admit that the human material is different, although the statistical tables failed to reveal any of consequence. They note (p. 210) that "some conditions and some personalities may be more difficult of correction than others," that "some few combinations of conditions and personality present almost insurmountable obstacles to reform of the individual," that "it can be predicted with reasonable certainty that some individuals, by virtue of their mental characteristics plus their acquired delinquent trends, under ordinary living conditions will continue in delinquency and crime."

They thus admit the possibility of combinations of character and experiences in which success is difficult of attainment, and may not occur at all. Is it not likely that in any community will be found examples of gradation of these combinations, from the most favorable to the most unfavorable? May it not be possible that the distribution of these combinations in Chicago is much the same as in Boston, but that the Chicago cases are selected in greater proportion from the more unfavorable combinations? If so, we should expect a higher rate of failure for the Chicago cases, aside from any question of treatment.

The authors tried to avoid this kind of selection by restricting the study to repeated offenders in both groups, and by rejecting petty offenders from both. But there is reason to think that these precautions were not sufficient. Even repeaters may be of different degrees of delinquency. It is not easy, or perhaps even possible, to grade delinquent tendency by the type of offense committed.

There are some positive reasons for thinking selection has been at work. We find a clew in the relation of population to volume of juvenile delinquency in the two cities. In proportion to the population there are four times as many court appearances of juveniles in Boston as in Chicago. To quote our authors: "Either Boston had very many more delinquents in proportion, or heard in its juvenile court types of cases which do not get into the Chicago court. The latter is the fact." That is, in choosing groups for study the field drawn upon in Boston affords a much larger proportion of light cases than Chicago. Furthermore, the Chicago group was made up from clinic cases, which themselves represent a selection of "harder cases" from a total of comparatively hard cases, because the clinic cases are those that social workers find to be especial problems and refer to the clinic for that reason.

The Boston group of cases used for comparisons with Chicago cases of 1909-14 were, apparently, not clinic cases, hence did not represent that sort of selection.

The second Boston group were clinic cases. They show a higher percentage of failure, which may be due to the after-effects of war, as the authors suggest, or a chance variation due to small numbers, or to a selection through study at a clinic. In any case the field of

mission is one occasion for sincere gratitude to Governor Pinchot on the part of all students of government, and especially of public welfare, and an evidence of the fine quality possible to public officials in different fields of research as well as in the general administration of the state.

Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration to the Secretary of Labor, 1926 (U.S. Department of Labor). Washington: Government Printing Office, 1926. Pp. vi+221. \$0.20.

This is a very interesting report, containing not only the usual statistics relating to immigration, emigration, deportation, and other subjects of importance, but also comments by the Commissioner General on the working of the new immigration act, with recommendations for new legislation.

The report shows a very encouraging reduction in the number of aliens found inadmissible, debarred at our seaports, and deported. The total number of persons debarred remains very large, both absolutely and in proportion to the total number of applicants for admission, but the largest numbers now are those debarred on the land-border ports, and not at the seaports.

The hardships involved in debarment at the seaports are so great that the Commissioner General should be congratulated on the success of his efforts to reduce this evil, and it is to be hoped that all debarments can ultimately be eliminated. The improvement is due largely to the stationing of technical advisers on immigration matters at the various American consulates in Northern and Western Europe.

Another subject of importance discussed in the report is Mexican immigration. The restriction of immigrant labor from Europe led, of course, to an increase in Mexican immigration and to an increased migration of southern Negro labor to northern industries. The increase in Mexican immigration is indicated by the following figures, which show the number of Mexicans admitted as follows: in ten years, 1901-10, 49,642; in ten years, 1911-20, 219,004; in six years, 1921-26, 279,693. The significance of these figures can be better understood by recalling that in 1890 there were only 77,693 Mexicans reported in the whole United States by the population census; at 2 per cent the annual quota for Mexico would be 1,557, if the present quota system were to be extended to Mexico.

This the Commissioner General advocates in his list of suggested

changes (p. 22), and he proposes the extension of the quota system, not only for Mexico but for Canada and the Central and South American countries. He finds (p. 2) that:

In fact, indications are not lacking of a desire on the part of the representative American public for an extension of existing quota restrictions to certain countries of this hemisphere which have not heretofore been limited by quotas. Apparently the thought of the country at large has crystallized upon the proposition of limited immigration and has reached a conclusion that restricted immigration, admittedly good in some directions, would likewise prove beneficial in other directions and should be more broadly extended than at present.

The probable social and industrial consequences of such a change are not discussed. Certainly an immediate effect would be the further stimulation of the northward movement of southern Negro labor. The effects of such migration on agriculture in the South and on industry in the North, together with other consequences of so radical change in the distribution of the Negro population, are worth consideration.

In connection with his approval of the quota legislation, it is interesting that the Commissioner General shares the aversion that has so recently developed to the "national origins" plan, which is the logical extension of the quota principle. The last immigration act provided that after July 1, 1927, the quotas should be fixed on the basis of the "national origins" of the entire population instead of country of birth of the foreign-born population. The theory underlying the whole quota system is that assimilability is determined by the proportionate number of persons already in the United States who were born in the various countries of origin. But the present distribution of quotas apparently assumes that only the foreign-born residents of the United States help to promote the assimilation of new arrivals. By the new plan the national origin of the native-born as well as the foreign-born would be taken into consideration. But the "national origin" statistics which have finally been submitted¹ are not to the liking of congressmen. On the basis of "national origins" the quota for Germany will be substantially reduced and the quota for Great Britain will be substantially increased. There will also be changes in the smaller quotas, with Italy and Russia gaining and the Scandinavian countries losing. It is safe to predict that the recommendation of the Commissioner General will be carried out and the "national origins" provisions will be repealed without being tried.

¹ For the "National Origins" report see U. S. Sixty-ninth Congress, 2d sess., Senate Documents 190 and 193.

The Commissioner General's recommendation that "general discretion" be given the Secretary of Labor to readmit expatriated native and naturalized citizens raises a serious question. Admission on the basis of administrative "discretion" instead of under general rules prescribed by the legislature is contrary to the American theory of government by laws instead of by men.

There will, however, be general approval of the recommendation that immigrants who entered the country illegally but who have established permanent residence here should not be torn up by the roots and deported. Apparently the Commissioner approves *nunc pro tunc* examinations before immigrant inspectors and officers of the United States Public Health Service as a method of legalizing the status of those who came before the quota system was established. On the other hand, he points out "the need for a broader measure providing for the deportation of aliens who entered without inspection. . . ." Logically, there would seem to be good reason for *nunc pro tunc* examinations for all aliens who have been here a given number of years, whether pre- or post-quota.

Public Social Services (Total Expenditure under Certain Acts of Parliament). Great Britain (1926; 205). Pp. 14. 3d.

The 1926 British "white paper" on *Public Social Services*, describing the total expenditures for public welfare work in Great Britain, is worthy of careful study. The expenditures accounted for are those provided under certain acts of Parliament, especially those provided under the national health-insurance acts, the unemployment-insurance acts, the war-pensions acts and the Ministry of Pensions act, the old-age pensions acts, the education acts, the acts relating to reformatory and industrial schools, the inebriates acts, the public-health acts (so far as they relate to hospitals, the treatment of disease, and maternity and child welfare), the housing of the working-classes acts, the acts relating to the relief of the poor, the unemployed-workmen act, the lunacy acts, and the mental-deficiency act.

We give in Table I the expenditures for 1891, the earliest year, and for 1924, the latest year for which particulars are available.

The expenditures for social insurance may be described as "staggering" or "magnificent" according to one's point of view—health and unemployment and old-age pensions reaching the combined total of nearly ninety million pounds, or close to \$435,000,000.

Of special interest is the fact that of the total expenditures for the year for all the services, which in our money approximated nearly \$1,400,000,000, only 22.8 per cent came from local rates, and 51.5 per cent came from the central government—from parliamentary votes and grants—the remaining 25.7 per cent representing such receipts as the contributions from insured persons and other miscellaneous income.

The social-insurance acts were all passed in the last twenty years and

TABLE I

Expenditures under the Following Acts	1891 (£)	1924 (£)
National insurance (health) acts.....		27,427,000
Unemployment-insurance acts.....		40,982,480
War-pensions acts, and the Ministry of Pensions act.....		62,333,877
Old-age pensions acts.....		21,315,153
Education acts.....	10,079,000	75,144,420
Acts relating to reformatory and industrial schools.....	376,270	828,353
Inebriates acts.....	44	18,223
Public-health acts, so far as they relate to (a) Hospitals and treatment of disease..	410,000	6,616,000
(b) Maternity and child-welfare work.....		1,613,000
Housing of the working-classes acts.....	238,000	14,610,000
Acts relating to the relief of the poor.....	8,456,017	37,964,000
Unemployed-workmen act.....		39,060
Lunacy acts.....	566,000	1,931,900
Mental-deficiency act.....		814,800
Totals.....	£20,125,331	£291,638,266

therefore no comparison of expenditures with 1891 is possible. Expenditures for poor relief, however, are comparable throughout the period, and in spite of the growth of social insurance, poor-relief expenditures have more than quadrupled during the period, as is indicated by the increase from £8,456,017 in 1891 to £37,964,000 in 1924. During the same period the population of England and Wales increased in round numbers from 29,002,500 to 37,885,350, or 30 per cent.

The total number of beneficiaries for certain of the acts is given as follows: national health insurance, 13,844,000 persons; unemployment insurance, 9,950,160 persons; war pensions, 1,873,400; old-age pensions, 918,000; education acts, 6,826,791; reformatory and industrial schools, 8,434; poor relief, 1,403,014; and lunacy acts, 97,413.

Children under Institutional Care, 1923. Statistics of Dependent, Neglected, and Delinquent Children in Institutions and under the Supervision of other Agencies for the Care of Children, with a Section on Adults in Certain Types of Institutions (U.S. Bureau of the Census). Washington: Government Printing Office, 1926. Pp. 381. \$0.50.

This report of the special census of dependent, neglected, and delinquent children in the care of institutions and child-placing agencies will be of wide interest. It is in three sections. The first section contains statistics relating to institutions and agencies for the care of dependent and neglected children and institutions for adults which also care for children; the second section contains statistics with reference to institutions caring for dependent adults; the third comprises data for juvenile delinquents. No attempt was made at this census to cover data for public aid to mothers for the care of children in their own homes, but an estimate is made of children provided for in this way based on figures supplied by the United States Children's Bureau.

This report differs from the report of 1910 in the following ways: (1) There is a special section on juvenile delinquents; (2) humane and protective societies and institutions for the long-time care of crippled children are now presented separately instead of being classed with other institutions for dependent children; (3) day nurseries, which were in the Census of 1904 but omitted from 1910, are restored; (4) financial statistics have been omitted. The report replaces the 1904 Census of *Benevolent Institutions* and a considerable portion of *Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents*.

The report shows the large total of 404,678 children in the United States in care of institutions or under the supervision of child-placing agencies on February 1, 1923. Of these, 204,888 were in institutions or receiving-homes, 51,164 in free homes, 22,281 in boarding-homes, 121,441 under supervision in their own homes, and 4,904 were temporarily away from the institutions or foster homes, but still under supervision.

The institutions for dependent children cared for 138,760 dependent children, of whom 14,380 were in free homes and 1,823 in boarding-homes. Institutions for adults and children reported 10,248 dependent children under care. The day nurseries reported 22,822 children, and the humane societies had 656 children in their shelters. Child-placing societies had under care a total of 67,168 children, of whom 5,470 were

still in the receiving-homes; more than half of the total were in free foster homes.

The children in their own homes aided from public funds were estimated by the U.S. Children's Bureau to number 121,000, and 412 were aided from child-caring organizations. No report is made of those given relief in the form of pensions by family social agencies. There were still 1,992 dependent children in the almshouses and 774 in the detention homes of juvenile courts. These detention homes also cared for 636 delinquent children.

The section dealing with juvenile delinquents shows a total of 23,003 between ten and seventeen years of age in special institutions for juvenile delinquents, and 2,230 in penal institutions. That is, 91.2 per cent of the total number of juvenile delinquents were in special institutions, with only 8.8 per cent in jails, workhouses, and other prisons. The number of juvenile delinquents enumerated in all institutions was 154.5 per 100,000 of the population ten to seventeen years of age. Going back one generation, the census of 1890 showed 149.2 juvenile delinquents in institutions per 100,000 population, but in 1890, 23.3 per cent were in penal institutions and only 76.7 in institutions for juvenile delinquents. However, with approximately 9 per cent of our young delinquents in jails and prisons, there is still work to be done.

Publications of The United States Children's Bureau. Nos. 151-62, 166-67. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1926.

The reports of the research work of the Children's Bureau during the past year cover a wide variety of subjects. Among those likely to interest the readers of this review, the first place should be given to a series of studies of "Children in Need of Special Care." These reports deal with child dependency and delinquency in North and South Dakota and Georgia, three states that were studied at the request of state officials concerned with child welfare. The first report (*Bureau Pub. 160*) sets forth child-welfare conditions in the two Dakotas, compares existing conditions with accepted standards of provision for child welfare, and suggests remedial legislation.

The report on *Dependent and Delinquent Children in Georgia* (*Bureau Pub. 161*), though concerned primarily with courts handling children's cases, discusses delinquency, dependency, and neglect untouched by the courts; offenses committed by adults against children; non-support and

desertion; adoptions; illegitimacy; child marriages; and the need for aid to children in their own homes. Although constructive work was being done in some of the counties, it was found that separate courts hearing children's cases were being held in only sixteen of the thirty counties studied and that probation service was very inadequate; that jail detention was not uncommon; that almost none of the courts handling adoption cases had given special consideration to safeguarding the children; that child marriages and "parental release" of children were common; and that Georgia had no system of mothers' aid. The report summarizes the legislation needed.

Mothers' aid legislation and the protection of children of illegitimate birth formed the subject of two brief reports based on office research as contrasted with the field investigations just described. The former report, entitled *Public Aid to Mothers with Dependent Children* (Bureau Pub. 162), treats the history, status, and principles of legislation on this subject, the methods of administration, and the general standards of such aid. The general conclusion is that the most pressing need is not new laws, but larger appropriations and higher standards of administration. The other report, on *Children of Illegitimate Birth and Measures for Their Protection* (Bureau Pub. 166), discusses briefly what illegitimacy means to the child, its prevalence, the connection of illegitimacy with high infant-mortality rates and with the problem of dependency, the factors in illegitimacy that point to the preventive measures needed, and constructive legislation on this subject both in this country and abroad.

Juvenile-Court Statistics (Bureau Pub. 159) gives forms for statistical cards and tabulations the use of which by the courts would make possible for the first time the compiling of statistics of juvenile delinquency in different parts of the country on a uniform and therefore comparable basis. The cards themselves were made available to the courts on July 1, 1926. As the plan comes into full operation it is the purpose of the Bureau to issue a yearly statistical report based on the card data and tabulated according to the forms given in this publication.

In the industrial field several interesting reports have been published. *Child Labor in the Fruit and Hop Growing Districts of the Northern Pacific Coast* (Bureau Pub. 151) and *Child Labor in Tobacco-growing Areas of Kentucky, South Carolina, and Virginia, and the Connecticut Valley* (Bureau Pub. 155) formed the subjects of the seventh and eighth reports, respectively, in the Bureau series on the work of children in rural areas. "Following the fruit" in Washington and Oregon, it was found, does not handicap the children so seriously as working on some of the eastern truck

farms studied by the Bureau, but drawbacks to the life from the point of view of children's welfare were too long hours, absence from school, and bad living conditions in some of the workers' camps. In the tobacco districts about 2,300 child workers were studied, nearly half of those in the South and more than one-third of those in the Connecticut Valley being under twelve years of age. The kinds of work done were noted, the length of the typical working day, the duration of employment, the earnings of the children, their absence from school owing to work on the tobacco crop or other farm work, and the effect of this absence upon their progress in school.

A report on *Industrial Accidents to Employed Minors in Wisconsin, Massachusetts, and New Jersey* (Bureau Pub. 152) showed that in these states 38 young persons were killed, 920 partly disabled for life, and 6,520 temporarily disabled in one year as a result of compensable industrial accidents. Since these large numbers are found in states offering considerable protection to young workers, the report concludes that additional protection is needed.

Another series of reports deal with "Maternity and Infant and Child Hygiene." In line with the Bureau's efforts to bring about uniformity in records of juvenile delinquency is its working out of standard records for prenatal care and for physical examinations of children at health conferences. These forms, each of which was the work of a committee of physicians, are included with explanatory text in *Bureau Publications 153 and 154* (*Standards of Prenatal Care and Standards for Physicians Conducting Conferences in Child-Health Centers*) and are also available separately.

The results of an important piece of research in the Bureau are embodied in the report on *Maternal Mortality* (Bureau Pub. 158), which analyzes available material both American and foreign on deaths of mothers during childbirth and finds that the maternal death rate in the United States is one of the highest in the civilized world. The report concludes that the conditions causing such deaths are largely preventable, and the problem is therefore to insure adequate prenatal and natal care.

The advantages of state licensing and inspection of maternity homes are brought out in a report on *Maternity Homes in Minnesota and Pennsylvania* (Bureau Pub. 167), comparing conditions in Minnesota, where such homes are licensed, with those in Pennsylvania, where they are not licensed. The homes in Minnesota appeared to give their patients much better medical and physical care and to make better provision for them upon discharge. A description is given of each of the thirty-five homes studied.

Administrative reports published include the annual report on the *Maternity and Infancy Work in the States* (Bureau Pub. 156) and the *Proceedings of the Third Annual Conference of State Directors in Charge of the Administration of the Maternity and Infancy Act, 1926* (Bureau Pub. 157). Some addresses of permanent scientific interest were issued as separates from the *Proceedings*: "Maternal Mortality" (Dr. Robert L. DeNormandie), "Prenatal Care" (Dr. DeNormandie and Dr. Fred L. Adair), "Community Control of Rickets" (Dr. Martha M. Eliot), "Birth Registration" (Dr. William H. Davis), "Mental Hygiene and Child Welfare" (Dr. D. A. Thom), and "Special Aspects of Nutrition" (Dr. Nina Simmonds).

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